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A Journal of Opinion

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General Pershing's Long Shadow

We now have it officially from SHAEF that no one at all was to blame for the Ardennes break-through—at least to the extent of making changes in command assignments desirable, which is the only thing that counts. In connection with the fact that the air fields in Belgium and northern France were surprised by the Luftwaffe on New Year's Day and a lot of planes destroyed on the ground, it is a disturbing indication that, whatever impression the von Rundstedt offensive made on our positions, it has had no similar effect on the remarkable self-confidence of our command.

It is also a demonstration of how heavily the hand of General John J. Pershing still lies on our army. No officer ever removed subordinates, even up to division and corps commanders, when they did not immediately produce results, so rapidly and ruthlessly as he did during the Meuse-Argonne offensive in 1918. It was bitterly resented; and the junior officers on whom these removals fell with particular weight are now commanding our armies, apparently determined not to follow the same path, no matter what happens.

Why Use Airborne Troops?

The matter would have only a certain historical importance were it not that it is merely one of several recent incidents which either point to the idea that our whole military policy for the European struggle has been on the wrong track, or amount to tacit admissions that it has. The President's appeal for a national-service law is a good case of the second category; the fact that dispatches are talking of the heroism of an airborne corps around Stavelot belong to the first.

Airborne troops are supposed to fight in the line like ordinary infantry, of course, but they are expensively trained and equipped specialists, whom it is militarily wasteful to employ in line operations. Apparently they were employed here and the British formations brought back from whatever operation they intended to conduct in Holland, because General Eisenhower didn't have anything else. The German attack in Alsace would have gotten nowhere (like that against Gouraud in Champagne in 1918) if there had been anything like adequate reserves at hand to meet it, for seldom has an attack been more thoroughly advertised in advance.

Quantity v. Quality

The potential manpower shortage on the western front, about which there was some talk even before the December drive, has become an actuality. In itself there is nothing wrong with this. Our whole pre-invasion military policy contemplated a relatively small army (around 100 divisions as against more than 300 German and at least 125 Japanese) of men selected with extraordinary care for youth, strength and intelligence, backed by a gigantic air force, and themselves equipped with weapons far superior to those of the enemy.

The air force is there all right, and the results on Leyte are a demonstration that in the Eastern war, quality can override quantity. But for such a result, one must have the quality; and the underlying cause of the defeats in the West which have so much lengthened the war, is that this is precisely what we did not have. Mr. Hanson Baldwin (The New York Times) has pointed out that we still have no tanks anywhere near

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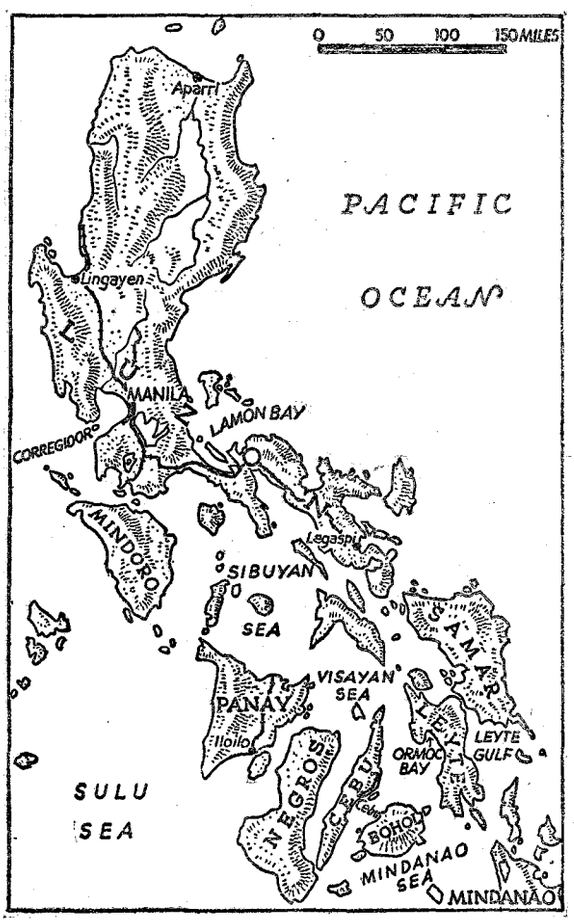
as good as the German, though the models they are using put in an appearance over a year ago; and when one of the Tigers is knocked out, it is as a result of concentrating quantity against its quality, or of superior tactics on our part, which is something one cannot always count on.

The Army Ordnance Department talks blithely about how far superior its own new guns and robot bombs are to the Nazi models, but these products of American inventiveness are still on the proving grounds while the German weapons are killing our people and forcing a revision not only of the date for ending the war but of the plans for ending it.

Japan Makes a Mistake

In the East, the position is far different. Tokyo, which has been wrong so many times, is probably right in saying that the campaign for the Philippines will finally have to be fought out on Luzon; and a long and arduous campaign it is likely to be, since for the first time General MacArthur will encounter really important segments of the Japanese army. Yet even Luzon, where the land masses and the numbers engaged begin to approach the continental in size, still lies within the frame of the amphibian operations in which our fleet and their supporting ground forces have shown themselves so very skillful. There was a mistake in policy here, too, and although it was the enemy's mistake, it demonstrates what far-reaching effects such errors can have. The Japanese thought they had worked out a perfect system for keeping invading forces at a distance, in their method of numerous forward air fields connected clear back to the home islands by a series of staging points. They still have, presumably in a state to operate to some extent, most of the 16 fields on Luzon. Yet even through the censorship it is clear that these fields could contribute very little toward resisting the huge convoys reported at the beginning of this week to be moving against the island. There were no planes; they had been cut off in the staging areas by the carrier planes of our fleet. It is a naval application of the attack on the lines of communication and, technically, one of the most interesting features of the war.



War Returns to Lingayen Gulf

The whole Japanese system of defense among the islands was based on cutting up invasion convoys by means of air power from numerous fields behind the beaches, the fields being usually concentrated at points where no outlying islands would allow the enemy to set up another field near enough to give fighter cover for an attack. This was proved a fundamental error of policy when attacking planes flew from the mobile islands of the carriers in such numbers that the defensive fields were overwhelmed.

Nonsense from Mr. Crawford

The wickedest public statement we have seen in a long time is the report on France made a few days ago by Frederick C. Crawford, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers. If Goebbels reads this speech, he will certainly want to give Mr. Crawford a medal. The former NAM head says that France was prosperous under the Nazis and that the underground consisted largely of thieves. He implies that stories of suffering in France are false, because he went to the Ritz Hotel in Paris and found it in good condition, with big brass doorknobs, decorations and silk curtains. He says France prospered so much under the Germans that the people did not want to be set free and that the American invasion was greeted with "a cold shoulder."

Several things are plain: 1. Mr. Crawford is a bad reporter. 2. Evidently he talked chiefly or solely with rich collaborationists who were and are close to being pro-Nazi. There is plenty of evidence that nearly all his factual statements are false or misinterpreted. The Ritz Hotel was kept in good condition during the occupation because the Germans lived there. There is a good supply of food on some French farms because lack of transportation makes it impossible to bring it to market. Mr. Crawford complains of the censorship, overlooking the simple fact that there isn't any. Correspondents of American newspapers in France are subject to no censorship but that of the American military authorities for military reasons. The Germans employed high-pressure methods and got large productivity out of the soil, but used no fertilizer, thus rapidly exhausting the land. All products were sent to

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Germany. Factory wages averaged only $15 a month.

The infant mortality in France during the occupation was more than twice the American rate. Of children less than two years old, 54 percent have rickets. The tuberculosis rate among young people in their teens is up nearly 25 percent and among those in their twenties, 33 percent. In the city of Lyon, neither better nor worse than other cities, 31 percent of the school children have remained the same weight or have lost. In the entire population of France, 71 percent have lost. Between 1940 and 1942 the tuberculosis deaths in Paris went up from 168 per 100,000 to 234. Mr. Crawford should either take the trouble to learn the facts, or he should keep still. Meanwhile, his statement should serve at least one useful purpose. It shows us the kind of mind that has in the past been in control of such a powerful body as the NAM—and might easily be again.

To the Winter Resorts

The New York Times of January 6 published an editorial supporting the plea of War Mobilization Director Byrnes that people should not engage in unnecessary travel. The New York Times of January 7 published four columns of advertisements of resorts, most of them hotels in Florida, Georgia or other parts of the Deep South, describing, often in glowing terms, the delights of a midwinter vacation in the land of sunshine. The Times also published two columns of news about winter resorts, indicating that social life is going full blast in Palm Beach, Miami, Southern Pines and other spots far, far from the sidewalks of New York. The Times is neither better nor worse than other periodicals in regard to this advertising. Yet it is obvious that something is wrong when a paper urges you editorially not to travel and then prints column after column of advertising trying to persuade you to do exactly that.

Un-American Activities

The Unholy Alliance which was responsible for so much misbehavior in the last Congress lost no time swinging into action as the new one convened. Immediately following opening ceremonies on the first day, Representative John Rankin of Mississippi brought up the question of making the old Dies Committee a standing committee of the House. The new Representatives were given a chance to vote much sooner than they had expected, and on a hot issue to boot.

The reactionary coalition prevailed, 207 to 186, and unless some means can be found to curtail funds for the now permanent Committee on Un-American Activities, or otherwise limit its operations, the administration will continue to be harassed by it. Progressives in the Ways and Means Committee, which makes committee appointments, are trying to obtain a balanced membership this time. Representative Frank Hook of Michigan is introducing a bill to repeal the Rankin amendment outright.

The editors of The New Republic, like all other sensible progressives, have no objection in the world to a congressional committee on un-American activities if it really did the job the title implies. Our objection to the Dies Committee was that it never did this job. Instead, it was a "transmission belt" for the worst elements of reaction, against every aspect of the New Deal. Our objection to the new committee is that it gives every indication of being more of the same.

Civil Liberties in '44

The third year of the war added conspicuous gains to the already notable wartime record in the civil-liberties field. This, as The New Republic has pointed out before, stands in sharp contrast with World War I. Important advances were made in the race-relations field, which has presented by far the most serious civil-liberties problems both in the armed forces and on the home front, through the efforts of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the War Relocation Authority, the more than 200 local interracial committees created since the Detroit riots, as well as the activities of the racial minorities themselves and their friends. While racial tensions still exist, and in some spots explosive conditions are restrained only because of the pressure of the war, the efforts to ease these tensions have increased greatly. Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who has just returned from a trip to the West Coast, reports that "throughout the country, local agencies concerned with democratic rights are devoting their chief energies to race relations and never before have I seen so strong an awareness of the failure to live up to our professions of race equality before the law, nor so much work being done to achieve it." Significant gains during 1944 are the decisions of the Supreme Court abolishing the "white primary" in the South and outlawing racial discrimination in collective bargaining by trade unions; the removal of a few of the discriminatory practices in the armed forces; the return of loyal Japanese Americans to the Pacific Coast military area under an army order without any of the anticipated violence or open opposition; and the repeal of the Oriental-exclusion act as applied to the Chinese.

Standing by the Bill of Rights

There were no new prosecutions in 1944 for utterances or publications under the Espionage and Selective Service Acts, and no publications were barred from the mails by the Post Office Department for interference with the conduct of the war. Two of the publications whose second-class privileges had been revoked in the early months of the war were restored to the mails during the year on recommendation of the Department of Justice. The drive of the Postmaster

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General against allegedly obscene literature continued through the year, but met stiffer resistance on the part of publishers and an actual setback in the decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals revoking a three-year-old ban on a Consumers' Union birth-control pamphlet. Another Post Office ban, that against the magazine Esquire, was sustained in a lower court; appeal will be heard in the District of Columbia Appeals Court this month.

The most serious attack on academic freedom, not only during the year but during the entire war period, was the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as president of the University of Texas. This stands out sharply against an encouraging record on academic freedom elsewhere over the country. There has been almost unlimited freedom of debate on the conduct of the war and on the issues of peace, all the more remarkable during a presidential election year.

If the record for the year here briefly surveyed appears encouraging, let it be clearly noted that this is largely because of the "eternal vigilance" of the pro-democratic forces in the country, keenly aware that the price of liberty is prompt and vigorous defense of the guarantees of the Bill of Rights whenever and wherever attacked.

Hollering before They're Hurt

The year-end saw a flood of dividend notices in the financial sections of the press; these were accompanied by many advertisements bewailing the dire plight of free enterprise in the United States. Typical of these litanies of despair was an advertisement, printed in the December 1, 1944, issue of Tide by the Chilton Company, Inc., a leading publisher of industrial and trade magazines. The advertisement showed a young boy asking his father, a rather fat rugged individualist, whether he would inherit his business. The boy received a disappointing answer, since the copy stated:

> Today you'll have to explain to that hopeful inquiring youngster all about government in business; how during the past twelve years there were imposed on top of the natural hazards of doing business, bureaucratic restraints and meddling that seriously impeded business growth, put a brake on expansion and materially reduced the prospect of profits. You'll have to show your boy how confiscatory taxes can rob him of the heritage you worked so hard to build.

What Are the Facts?

The facts show that the copywriter was elaborating a fantastic misstatement. Industrial production in 1944, stoked by government orders, was more than twice as high as the peak reached in any peacetime year. And business was doing very well profitwise, despite the advertisement in Tide. In 1929, according to the Department of Commerce, corporate profits after taxes amounted to $7.2 billion; preliminary estimates indicate they have run in the neighborhood of $9 billion in 1944. Profits after taxes in 1944 were more than twice as high as in 1939, when they were $4.2 billion.

During the war years—from 1940 through 1944—despite "bureaucratic restraints and meddling," corporations distributed $20.5 billion in dividends and accumulated more than $20 billion in undistributed profits. This is but one aspect of corporate prosperity, which is at the highest level in American economic history. The Securities and Exchange Commission reports that the net working capital of American corporations had risen to an estimated $44.3 billion by June 30, 1944. By the end of 1944 the total increase since 1939 is expected to approximate $22 billion. None of these facts jibes with the false charge that confiscatory taxes have robbed industry of profits. More than that, considering the gaping loopholes in the estate and gift-tax system, it is a misstatement to imply that the fattish business man will not be able to pass on his heritage of wartime profits to his son.

The President Reports

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE to Congress on the state of the nation was a gallant attempt to answer many critics on many fronts. Partly because of the inevitable problems of the man who is in power, partly because of the President's own disposition to slide over disagreeable situations instead of meeting them boldly, his message will not have the desired effect. It does, however, perform some service in clearing the air, and is to be welcomed for that reason.

Universal Service. – It is hardly worth while to discuss in detail the proposal for universal service, since it seems pretty clear that it has no hope of passage. The President recommended it a year ago and nothing happened. Bills to bring it about were introduced at that time and did not even get out of committee.

If universal service were shown to be needed, or there was even a good probability that it was needed, The New Republic would support it without reservation. But there is no evidence that this is the case. The shortages of war materials that exist have occurred only in Western Europe, and are the result of transportation bottlenecks in France. The future shortages about which General Eisenhower is alarmed are the result of improper planning by the general staff, which overestimated the requirements for airplanes and underestimated those for tanks, trucks and medium and heavy artillery. A national-service law would do nothing to remedy any of these conditions.

Whether war workers are leaving their jobs to get into peacetime industry, we do not know. The CIO says they are not, and offers statistics to prove that changes are fewer now than they were a year ago and fewer in war plants than in industry as a whole. Those

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who leave their jobs, however numerous they may be, do so because they have a lively fear that Congress will not take adequate measures to maintain prosperity or to help them over the transition when the end of the war comes. Congress has indicated its bad intentions by refusing even to help pay the carfare of war workers returning to their homes from other parts of the country where they were asked to go as a matter of patriotism. Let Congress pass measures for adequate dismissal pay, and take the necessary steps to prevent depression, embodied in such plans as in the Murray full-employment proposal, and the workers will stay on the job. A universal-service law without these measures would mean only a license to the employer for merciless exploitation. It would do the war economy more harm than good.

Drafting 4F's. – We can see no objection to requiring men of military age who are physically disqualified for combat to engage in war work, being taken of course in the same order that applies to men for active service. For such work the age limit might be extended almost indefinitely upwards from thirty-eight. Nobody should be exempt from helping this war to the best of his ability, and this should apply to women as well as men. The army has rejected millions of men with comparatively slight and easily remediable defects. Early in the war it was proposed in Washington that the army undertake to repair these defects; it has repeatedly been stated, and never so far as we know denied, that the American Medical Association pulled wires to prevent this, on the ground that it would "open the door to socialized medicine."

Drafting Nurses. – It is highly regrettable that the armed services have been unable to get by voluntary recruiting more than 2,000 of the 10,000 nurses they need. Since this is the case, there seems no remedy except to draft. We cannot afford to let American soldiers die for lack of attention while 280,000 nurses—seven times as many as are in the armed services—are taking care of civilian needs. There is good reason to believe that many nurses would welcome conscription. They have wanted to get into the fighting services but have been under pressure from their present employers to remain where they are. Incidentally, the situation would be helped if we would permit larger numbers of Negro nurses to go overseas and would lower the still existing bars against them in this country.

Compulsory Military Training. – The most important thing to say now about compulsory military training is that the subject ought to be postponed. It is far too early to know what sort of military establishment we shall need after the war. If we need a very large army, then universal compulsory military service is the best way to get it; otherwise, a big professional army would be likely to overshadow the government itself. If we need a small army, compulsory universal training is not necessary or desirable. Instead, we should like to see the government give every boy and girl except those of subnormal intelligence a free public education carried through at least one year of college, the remedying of all physical defects as far as possible, and a good grounding in whatever trade or profession the individual elects. This would help the nation immeasurably both in war and in peace.

The Atlantic Charter. – The President uttered a few kind words for the Atlantic Charter and thereby helped to rescue it from the doghouse, where it had been resting lately. Every sensible person should have known, when the Charter was first promulgated, that its authors would not live up to it completely. To do so would have required a reformation of national and individual character and habits of thought and action that is beyond the range of probability. Nevertheless, it was undoubtedly better to have it than not. It gives us at the least a standard from which deviations can be noted. The President is probably right in the simile he so often uses in private conversation: the Ten Commandments are constantly violated, yet nobody suggests they should for that reason be abolished.

Greece and Poland. – It is significant that the President felt obliged to mention these two highly controversial European subjects. It is equally significant that he said nothing of any importance about them. These are the two situations where, beyond any others at present, the conflict between moral values and the expediencies of power politics are in the sharpest relief. The President begged the question equally when he said that the nations with power must realize that they have responsibilities as well. Any editorial writer would have said as much. The question remains: How do you get them to realize their responsibilities? And what do you do to them if they don't?

Apology to the French. – The President did his best to make friends again with the French, mortally offended by his long hostility to de Gaulle and by his remark (probably misunderstood) that "there is no France." It is good news that we are to give weapons to the French armies to help fight the Germans. Only a desperate shortage of materials could justify any de-

Pease in The Newark Evening News

The Global Stoker

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lay in doing this. It is intolerable that we should bear any larger proportion of the burden, for political reasons, than is absolutely necessary.

Free Trade all over the World. – If the President's speech was intended to mollify the angry British, it was unfortunate that he reiterated the demand for complete freedom of trade all over the world. To Americans, this looks like a statement of plain common sense. The British, however, are in deadly fear of American competition in the postwar period. They are afraid that we shall have so many ships and airplanes and factories, so much wealth, real or potential, that their impoverished empire will be fighting with its back to the wall. They consider the demand for huge export trade as the American variety of imperialism, to be put alongside their own political brand and Russia's geographical one. It would have been more useful if the President had said that while we want to get rich, we don't want the effort to cause the British to starve.

Economic Bill of Rights. – The President repeated the substance of his famous economic bill of rights. New Republic readers do not need to be told that we warmly agree with these plans. We hope the President won't content himself with just talking about them now and then, but will get down to work. And work will be needed: recent actions of Congress suggest that there is less than a majority in both Houses at present which prefers prosperity to depression enough to pass the necessary legislation. Here is where the liberals, trade-unionists, progressive farmers, can help the President. They can try to educate members of the present Congress; they can try to replace the bad ones by better men in 1946. At the same time, they must keep up their pressure both on Congress and on the President himself for a foreign policy equally liberal, to help the cause of permanent peace and prosperity.

The Franchise in the South

IN RECENT YEARS, the waning of the democratic tradition in the South has become a matter of national concern. Citizens all over the country have contributed their time and money to the campaign to abolish the poll tax. Court decisions pertaining to the Negro vote have received the widest publicity. Today, we are glad to report, Southerners themselves are putting new energy into the fight for franchise reform. An excellent example is the Conference of Southern Editors and Writers which met recently in Atlanta to exchange information on present voting restrictions in the South.

More than fifty outstanding editors and writers, Negro and white, under the chairmanship of Mark Ethridge, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal, frankly reported the situation in their respective states. Man after man rose to tell how people are kept from voting and agreed almost unanimously that the Negro is entitled to the vote and must get it. These were not "radicals" speaking, but responsible representatives of many of the oldest and most respected papers of the South. The speakers all felt that the people are ahead of the politicians on the question of the poll tax, and that if the decision on what to do about that issue were left to the citizens, the tax would be quickly abolished.

A good number believed, with Editor Bryan Collier of The Columbus, Georgia, Ledger, that the main reason for the lack of democracy in the Southern ballot is that "the people we have in office don't want a big vote. They figure it is easier for them to win an election when the vote is light." Others thought the major reason was that offered by Harry Strozier, contributing editor of The Macon News: "We aren't far enough away from the War between the States for our politicians to realize that enfranchisement of the Negro wouldn't mean turning over a large bloc of votes to the Republican Party."

The applause which greeted Strozier's remarks and later those of Roscoe Dunjee, editor of The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, indicated the welcome the conference gave to straight talk. Dunjee reported that Negroes in Oklahoma had proved themselves to be capable of independent choice and not mere lifetime voters for the party of Lincoln. "The Negro will join with white people of the South in doing the things that ought to be done in a democracy," Dunjee promised.

No resolutions were passed by the Southern Editors' Conference. No commitments were made by any member to do anything further about the franchise situation. But the general opinion of most of the editors was that the eight Southern state legislatures meeting this year will hear plenty about poll-tax repeal and franchise reform generally. An enlightened and vigorous press in the South during this period can go a long way toward supplying the leadership the politicians have refused to give.

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The Price of Prosperity

I. *Spending and Employment After the War*

This is the first of a series of articles by Dr. Harris and Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, on the related problems of export trade, full employment at home and the proposals made at Bretton Woods. The next article, by Dr. Harris, will discuss specifically employment and export trade. – THE EDITORS

EMPLOYMENT depends on demand. All economists are agreed on this. Reduce government expenditures by $75 billion and unless other expenditures are substituted, demand will fall and unemployment will rise correspondingly. (This is subject to some reservations discussed below.) The number-one economic problem is to find alternative expenditures on the order of $50-$75 billion. Unless expenditures are maintained at a high level, total income will not be spent on consumption and/or investment goods. Those who lose jobs will spend less; and those fearing a loss of jobs will also cut spending. A cumulative decline is then on its way.

It does not help to whistle in the dark, as many business men and some economists are inclined to do. That we have survived other crises and solved difficult problems for ten generations does not mean that we shall somehow blunder through by 194x or 195x. At any rate, ballyhoo, exhortations, attacks on the government and pleas for immediate demobilization of controls will not solve our problems.

In July, 1940, civilian employment was 47.6 millions. Most guesses at the required number of jobs in an early postwar year run around 56 millions: 60 millions on the labor market of which 2 millions would be in the military service and 2 millions unemployed. We are likely to need 10 million more jobs than in the relatively prosperous year of 1940.

This is not going to be an easy task. In order to provide 56 million or more jobs it is assumed that our national income must be sustained at $140-$150 billion at 1943 prices. Estimates for postwar year *x* vary greatly. Several government economists have put the required figure of *gross national product* (GNP—net national income plus certain other items: depreciation funds, taxes by corporations, etc.) at $200 billion, the 1944 total, and net national income at $150 billion or more. (Our net income is estimated at $158 billion for 1944.) The Brookings Institution has put our net national income in an early postwar year at $123 billion; but it counts on only 54 million jobs and, brushing aside historical evidence on productivity, it grossly underestimates the net rise in productivity. In three early postwar years following World War I, output per man-hour rose 10 percent per year.

We must not forget, however, that most estimates are intended to give an indication of what might be achieved. Given good management, we shall experience a high level of employment and continued gains in productivity. One may, however, also assume bad or indifferent management. The historian may well project past income into the future, thus assuming periods of large amounts of unemployment as well as high levels of employment. Using this historical approach, Dr. Simon Kuznets emerges with a very pessimistic pattern for the postwar period. I much prefer his realism to the business man's dreams. For Dr. Kuznets' studies give some insight into the magnitude of the problems confronting us.

It is as easy to be pessimistic as optimistic. If we allow the thirties to carry much weight in any estimates of the future, then we are likely to be pessimistic. If we take a much longer period as our guide, then we may easily envisage a net national income of $200 billion in a generation. Our national income has in fact doubled about every 30 years. *If* productivity should continue to rise from 1940 to 2000 at the rate of the years 1919-20 to 1940, the figure in 2000 would be 800 (1940 = 100); and for industrial production 458 (1940 = 100). From 1929 to 1939, however, there was a net decline of national income, though if an upward adjustment is made for the decline in prices (income is worth more at reduced prices) and a downward adjustment for the rise of population, the situation in 1939 was roughly about the same as in 1929. In distribution, the condition was precarious in the latter year, with around 10 million unemployed.

Are we safe in assuming that we are to attain a national income of $150 billion? At incomes of the late twenties, our savings were 10 percent of our national income after payment of taxes. In the present situation, savings are at about 25 percent of disposable national income. With the large rise in numbers receiving higher incomes as total income increases, the amount and the percentage saved tend to rise. A very conservative estimate is to put savings at 10 percent of disposable national income, or $14 billion in peacetime; a more reasonable estimate might be 15 percent, or $21 billion. In the first case, inclusive of depreciation funds, $24 billion are available to be invested; in the second, $31 billion. *In the whole decade* of the thirties, total gross investment was but $60 billion; net investment negligible. Are we likely to find profit-

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able investments at the rate of $30 billion (say) a year? We should not lose sight of the vast amount of investment during the war. In the 3½ years ending December 31, 1943, total expenditures for war construction and machinery and equipment were $86.5 billion; in the 3½ years ending June 30, 1940, $39.6 billion. Even allowing for the unavailability for peacetime of much of these expenditures in 1941-43, the amounts involved are significant. To this extent, deferred demand may be written down and let us also not forget that a dollar of investment is much more effective than it used to be. In my opinion, we shall be fortunate indeed if we find profitable outlets for $15-$20 billion of the private savings available for investment.

Of our $150 billion income, we shall save $20 billion, pay in personal taxes $15 billion ($30 billion for all federal and other taxes) and $115 billion will be available for consumption. But are we likely to consume $115 billion worth of goods and services? The increase over prewar is 50 percent or more. Consumption expenditures in 1929 were $71 billion; the average for the thirties, $55 billion; 1939, $62 billion; 1943, $90 billion, and 1944, $95 billion. At a full-employment income of $165 billion (gross product) and $140 billion net national income, the Department of Commerce estimates the required consumption at $120 billion inclusive of residential expenditures (1942 prices). The required rise over 1940 is 51 percent for services, 58 percent for perishable goods, 73 percent for semidurable goods, 104 percent for durable goods. Other estimates by government officials generally run even higher: the amounts are from $115 to $135 billion. The dollar rise in consumption would then be around 100 percent over the late thirties and the rise expressed in goods would be substantially more than 50 percent.

Yet even the Department of Commerce figures raise serious doubts. How soon will markets be saturated if, as they estimate, sales of passenger cars are at the rate of $5.7 billion in 1942 prices, which are approximately 15 percent above 1940 prices (1940 = $2.4 billion in sales of cars) and residential construction at $7 billion ($2.3 billion in 1940)? Expenditures on foods are required to rise from $20.9 billion in 1940 to $33.9 billion in 1946. Can this amount of food be produced and can we count on consumption habits changing so quickly? In this study the Department of Commerce has assumed that expenditures on each of 77 groups of commodities or services would bear the same relation to the GNP as in 1929-40. In other words, granted that the GNP rises to $165 billion and that the expenditure pattern will follow the past relationship, the outlay on each of these 77 groups is given. Consumption will then be $120 billion. Unfortunately the ratio of consumption to the GNP at a GNP varying from $55 billion (1932) to $99 billion (1929) will tell us little concerning the ratio of consumption at a GNP of $165, or according to more usual estimate, a GNP of $200 billion. It is, moreover, a mistake to deal with each of the 77 groups separately and independently. Who can say that if we increase outlays on clothing and accessories by 72 percent, we shall increase expenditures on food by 62 percent, on residential construction by 201 percent and on automobiles by 140 percent?

In short, consumption expenditures of $115-135 billion, which are required at a full-employment income, may not be attained. And if they are not, then the deficiency of spending will be even greater than we have so far assumed. At any rate we cannot too glibly assume from these studies that all will be well on the spending front. (It may be said to the Department of Commerce's credit that they were aware of many of the weaknesses of their approach.)

Can We Afford a Large Public Debt? – Many in Washington will concur that the prospects for a high level of employment are not too bright unless the government is prepared to step in. To many it appears that an investment program of $10-$15 billion annually is inevitable; otherwise unemployment will be excessive. Yet preparations are not being made. Blueprints are available for public projects estimated to cost around $1 billion. There is much fear of the public debt; a strong desire to allow and encourage private enterprise to carry on unhampered by government; and state and local governments, embarrassed by inflexible budgets, recalling their difficulties in the thirties and awaiting larger federal hand-outs, are proceeding slowly.

The exaggerated fear of public debt is especially troublesome. We may have a public debt of $250 billion after the war. Of course it would be much better if we were not saddled with this debt. Yet what does it really mean? Before the war, our total wealth was estimated at $300-$400 billion. Let us put the figure at $350 billion. Our debt will have risen by at least $200 billion. Is the cash value of the country's resources to be but $150 billion at war's end?—that is, $350 minus $200? Few would take that position. Our factories and equipment will be worth considerably more than in 1940; our homes will be more valuable—as new construction has exceeded depreciation; inventories are above prewar levels; the government has perhaps $75 billion of property. All in all, we seem to be wealthier than we were before the war. We are also much smarter: more skilled and educated workers; great advances in management; a much more experienced bureaucracy. Not only have we more wealth, but we are able to produce more each year.

Each individual, on the average, also seems to be wealthier than in 1939. Liquid assets (cash, deposits and government securities) are close to $200 billion, as compared to about one-third of this figure before

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the war. These liquid assets, to the extent of two-thirds, belong to individuals. Banks hold close to one-half of the government securities outstanding. These, however, belong to the depositors and therefore to the public. In short, the public is in possession of (1) more than $100 billion of deposits and cash against which the banks hold loans and largely government securities, and (2) around $100 billion of government securities. These $200 billion of liquid assets are a claim on other assets; but the latter are still available. These large liquid assets have grown with the increase of the public debt: they reflect large amounts of deficit financing and the related expansion of money. In the long run, the availability of these liquid assets, an outgrowth of the rising public debt, is likely to have a beneficial effect. If our problem is to induce demand appropriate to our capacity to produce, then the availability of these large liquid assets which are cash or may easily be converted into cash, may in fact account for a higher level of spending and, therefore, production, than we otherwise would have. We should, of course, maintain some control of these funds until production for civilian needs is once more free from war demands.

Then why this concern over the public debt? The annual charge, all will readily admit, is but $5-6 billion a year. The increased taxes required are unfortunate but not intolerable. They amount to but four percent of our expected postwar income. Taxes raised for the payment of interest are not a burden to the economy in the same sense as taxes which finance expenditures requiring the using up of raw materials, labor and capital. A tax of $5 billion to be used to build ships to be sunk is one thing; a tax on A in order to pay B is another matter. In one case, resources have actually been destroyed. In another, the only loss is the effect of the taxes upon A, who, under a severe tax program, might be somewhat less disposed to produce. Actually, even under marginal rates (that is, the highest rates applicable to a segment of one's income) of 90 percent in this war, taxation does not seem to have significantly interfered with war output. Marginal rates in the postwar era should be much lower. Let us not, however, leave out of account the gains to B.

In the postwar period we may well face the alternative of a declining income associated with a failure to spend our income or an income stabilized through necessary increases in government investment. Outlays of $10 billion which involve the government in additional charges of $200 million annually are easily justified if the investment yields that amount. (I assume that they do not compete with private enterprise and in fact are only undertaken because the required and hoped for private spending has failed to materialize.) This increase in the annual charge is also small as compared with the average annual rise of national income, which, on the basis of past experience, should amount to at least $3 billion, and of a concomitant rise of Treasury receipts of at least $600 million.

In a growing economy, the rising debt need not concern us; in a declining economy, we rely on public investment only because in its absence national income may fall far more. At the $180 billion net national income we have a right to expect that, by 1960, the total charge on public debt—even if we spend $10 billion each year on additional public investment (and many years this may not be necessary and it may be possible and desirable to cut debt)—will be only about $10 billion, or 6 percent. These $10 billion, moreover, are not a deduction from $180 billion but rather remain in the income flow as part of the $180 billion. Our national income, despite the $400 billion debt, should be more than three times that of the thirties.

High Employment at Low Incomes. – It is evident then that spending is the crux of the matter; that private consumption and investment may not be adequate; and that public investment may be required. Clearly we shall not have a net national income of $150 billion in 194x unless consumption and investment are at a high level. It is of course possible to have a high level of employment at an amount of income substantially less than $150 billion. National downgrading, loss of overtime, withdrawals of labor from the market, redistribution of labor away from high-paying war industries may, according to some estimates, result in reductions of wages and salaries by $20 billion. Those who put our net national income in the late forties at $150 billion, weigh the rise of productivity heavily and do not put so much weight as Brookings does on the downgrading and the like. Should the war end suddenly, it has even been estimated that wages and salaries might, over a short period, fall by $30 billion. In addition, long-run reductions in payments might follow a rise by several millions of school and college students and a reduction of hours from the contemplated 40 to the 35 which fit in better with long-term trends. It is quite conceivable that, even allowing for the gains in productivity, a combination of these developments—downgrading, reduction of hours, voluntary withdrawals of workers, etc., might leave us with a national income of $120 billion and a low level of unemployment.

Yet there is danger in these developments, whatever may be said in favor of the common sense of taking part of our gains in leisure and schooling. It is necessary to take into account the transitional effects. Is it probable that if wages and salaries decline by $25-35 billion and the GNP by $40-50 billion that a serious deflation can be averted? Our economy is attuned to a GNP of $200 billion. Can we retreat without disorder to a $150 billion (GNP) plateau? Or is the failure to sell goods and services produced for a $200-billion market likely to induce fear, hoarding,

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pressure for reductions of wage rates, and a diminution of enterprise? This is a real danger.

The danger arises from a large reduction of wage payments which will almost certainly accompany demobilization as workers are forced to forgo $13 billion of overtime pay, several billion dollars' loss resulting from movements to low-paying nonwar industries and a few additional billions associated with downgrading. In addition, under favorable demand conditions associated in part with these factors, further contractions may follow induced withdrawals from the labor market and still shorter hours.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

Is There a Case for Petrillo?

IN THE CLOSING DAYS of the final session of the Seventy-eighth Congress, the Senate, acting upon the unanimous approval of the Interstate Commerce Committee, passed without a dissenting voice a bill which would proscribe interference from any quarter with the broadcasting of non-commercial cultural programs by educational institutions. Before the bill could be introduced into the House, the session ended. The bill's spokesman, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, promptly indicated that he would reintroduce it before the new Congress. Though neither his name nor that of the organization which he directs was mentioned, the target of this abortive piece of legislation was that stormy petrel of the air waves, James Caesar Petrillo, and his American Federation of Musicians—and the Senate's unanimity in voting this injunction on a union's activity was a symptom of the rising tide of public as well as congressional indignation now being leveled at him.

The bill itself had its origin in Petrillo's original refusal several years ago to permit the programs of the National Music Camp at Interlachen, Michigan, to go on the air. He had extenuated this action by pointing out that these broadcasts served to publicize an institution which charged tuition fees and that they were therefore inherently commercial, and argued that his union could not permit a breach in its vital principle of a "closed shop on the air." Nevertheless, it provided the opposition with a tactical opportunity to charge him with a defiant contempt of the public interest and with gross indifference to the musical education of American youth.

Underlying this controversy and the Senate action is an irreconcilable irritation at Petrillo's recent triumph over the recording companies. The controversy itself goes back to June, 1942, when Petrillo locked himself in battle with RCA-Victor and the Columbia Recording Company by announcing that after August 1 of that year, all members of the American Federation of Musicians would cease playing for recordings. For this announcement he was uniformly denounced, not only by the conservative press, but also by such liberal organs as The Nation, The New Republic and The New York Post.

But there is a case for Petrillo—a case, now that the battle is ended, which ought to be critically examined.

Petrillo's "Battle of Records" may be said to have begun almost twenty years ago, when the AFM was first faced with the problem of technological unemployment. For promptly with the advent of the sound motion picture, some 20,000 musicians were driven from the theatres of America.

There was no more public concern over this technological dynamiting of the musician's vocation than there was when, some years later, an armada of 350,000 juke-boxes blasted out of existence the two or three-piece bands that used to enliven the Saturday-night small-town dances. And when wired music (Muzak) all but ended the use of the hotel salon ensemble and the restaurant string orchestra, the destruction of these further sources of employment went unnoticed except by the union.

Finally, radio, with its instant flow of music into every corner of the country, remained steadily poised to administer the *coup de grâce*. For while radio did vastly stimulate public interest in music in many forms, it could—had not the AFM intervened—have furnished music to the millions with the employment of but a small group of highly publicized bands and orchestras, or, worse still, *with the playing and replaying of their records at a few cents a throw.*

It was against this background of technological job displacement on a grand scale that Petrillo, with the full support of his union, precipitated the controversy which, for nearly two and a half years, brought down on his head a torrent of abuse and vilification unequaled in modern American labor history.

Thus, through all of 29 months—in the press, in the federal courts, in Congress, in the War Labor Board, and finally in the sacred precinct of the White House—the battle of music raged. However, despite the use of every weapon in their arsenal of labor warfare, RCA-Victor and Columbia Recording Companies became more and more alarmed lest their principal recording artists finally refuse to renew their contracts. On Armistice Day, 1944, peace was declared with the AFM's announcement that RCA-Victor and Columbia Recording had capitulated by agreeing to pay into the union's treasury a fixed royalty on every record sold.

During the period of conflict, although the musicians as well as the public suffered a serious loss, the recording companies themselves actually made more

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money than they would have if there had been no ban on recording. For when the use of raw materials out of which records are made was strictly limited by WPB regulations, it was found possible to sell to an eagerly demanding public all of the companies' unsold discs, as well as records made from old "masters." This was a neat saving in the cost of orchestras, technicians and other expenses which are normally incurred when new "masters" are recorded.

The impasse was broken when Jascha Heifetz, rebelling at the lengthening period of his artistic inaction, gave up a quarter-century tradition of recording exclusively for RCA-Victor and began playing for Decca, which had already signed with the AFM. When, further, it became apparent that other popular artists would follow his lead, the top companies sought an immediate termination of the dispute. For the major asset of a recording company lies in its contracts for the exclusive services of its leading artists.

The request of the recording companies that an industry representative participate in the disposition of those royalty payments—which early in the controversy would undoubtedly have received consideration from the AFM—had now to be dropped. So unconditional was the surrender of the companies that they were obliged to agree that in the event that the union did not renew the agreement when it expired in three years' time, their artists might immediately go to work for other companies. Had Columbia and RCA-Victor obtained a peaceful solution earlier in the controversy, Petrillo would not have levied this condition. For he did not exact it from Decca or the 60 or 70 smaller companies which had a year earlier met his terms.

It now becomes abundantly clear that the agreement which has been signed is tantamount to AFM control over the business of RCA-Victor and Columbia Recording Companies. Never again will these companies do more than just meekly submit to Petrillo's terms; if they do not, their artists will be lost to once scorned competitors. And if the latter should join with them in refusing to submit to union demands, it is certain that the American Federation of Musicians—after war priority-controls have ceased—will engage directly or indirectly in the recording business.

Our judgment on Petrillo's signal victory should be in large measure suspended until the use to which these royalty payments will be devoted becomes evident. While there are the usual accusations that these moneys will be used to line the pockets of union officialdom, it is much more likely that the funds will be used for the purpose of extending the areas in which live music is to be preserved—and concomitantly for the reëmployment of idle musicians.

Petrillo has already indicated that these royalty payments are not to be spent until after the end of the war. On this score, it must be remembered that employers of men who have left regular jobs to enter the armed forces are obligated by law to reëngage them after their discharge. On the other hand, the greater part of the 36,000 musicians who the AFM claims are now in the armed forces are virtually itinerant workers having no regular employment; consequently no one is obligated to reinstate them anywhere. The music industry has assumed no obligation to reëmploy these men, and that the union should use the royalty payments for the relief of these returning veterans can scarcely be a matter for criticism.

Indeed, the union should receive due acclaim for proposing to use these funds to provide live music in those communities where it cannot otherwise be financially supported; for actually, in all but the principal cities of the country, live music simply does not exist. Similarly, in bringing live music to communities where none now exists, the union will succeed in making another contribution of a unique kind to musical America. It seems to be forgotten in this clamorous world of jukes, phonographs and radios that today's makers of live music are tomorrow's teachers of music. It is rare indeed to find competent teachers in towns and villages from which living music has all but vanished. As a result, the musically ambitious are often compelled to travel hundreds of miles for musical instruction. The effectiveness of professional musicians as teachers, even in the primary stages of study, is indicated by the remarkable record of performance achieved by musical students in the parochial schools of Philadelphia, where the instructors are present or former members of that city's symphony orchestra.

Finally, in its campaign to maintain live music, the AFM will make a very real contribution to community spirit, particularly of small municipalities, throughout the land. Whether it is the brass band in the public park, the symphony orchestra in the town hall or the jazz band at the Saturday-night dance, live music forms an integral and integrating aspect of community life. But against the radio competition of the Philharmonic and the Philadelphia Symphony orchestras, few smaller organizations can prevail, any more than the small dance bands can compete against the juke-box with its top "name" bands.

That the juke-box industry should be unconcerned with the preservation of living music is perhaps not surprising; that the radio industry—explicitly licensed by the government to operate in the "public interest, convenience and necessity"—should be equally unconcerned is not to be lightly dismissed. Certainly this indifference cannot be excused on the ground of lack of funds. This year (1944) the gross time sales of the radio industry will be close to $400 million, or twice its total receipts for 1942 when the Petrillo ban on recording was first invoked. What the net profits of the industry amount to today can well be imagined when it is remembered that this $400 million "take" is based

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on a total present investment in plant and equipment for the entire broadcasting industry (depreciated book value of tangible broadcast property) of scarcely more than $50 million.

It is the individual record-playing station, however, that reaps relatively the largest harvest from the use of "canned" music. Such a station, for example, as WNEW in New York City, grosses more than a million dollars annually, principally by selling advertising time on the endless record-playing sessions it broadcasts. WINX, a similar station, built in Washington in 1940 at a cost of no more than $50,000, was sold four years later for ten times that sum.

Why, then, should not the radio industry devote some small portion of its fabulous profits derived from *canned* music to maintain *live* music in the many communities in which bands and orchestras can no longer be supported at the box office? In so doing, the broadcasters would, paradoxically, be serving not only the public interest but their private corporate interest as well, for such a service would obtain what might prove in time to be crucial assistance in the event of governmental or even competitive attack on the system of advertiser-supported broadcasting. Moreover, it might serve as a most effective public-relations theme with which to combat recurring insistence by Petrillo that the networks and principal stations keep adding musicians to their already overstaffed house bands, or such innovations as his recent demand that only union musicians be engaged for the complex task of turning over the "platters" in broadcasting recorded music.

At the moment, however, the fact that Petrillo proposes to direct the proceeds of his triumph over the recording companies to a doubly constructive purpose —that of providing continuous employment for his musicians as well as maintaining the tradition of living music in America—has not shielded him from scorching criticism.

In the AFM victory, The Washington Post foresees all unions being endowed with the Midas touch:

> The sinister significance of the Petrillo triumph does not lie in his ignoring of a WLB order, but rather in its implications for the future. If one union can collect a fee from all the employers of an industry as a condition of permitting its members to work for them, there is nothing to prevent other unions from enriching their treasuries by similar means.

The New York Herald Tribune is disturbed over the plight of the innocent bystander:

> If one union can levy a tax on an industrial product, why not others *ad infinitum*, with the public inevitably paying the piper?

The New York Times fears for the employer:

> If one union can force employers to supply the funds for a private relief scheme, why can't other unions?

Nowhere any concern for the fate of American musical culture and—even more important—nowhere a thought to the problem of technological unemployment.

For, despite the editorial castigation, there is nothing inherently new in Petrillo's approach to the problem of technological unemployment. There are many precedents for the imposition by craft unions of additional obligations upon employers when labor-saving devices are initiated. When transit-mix concrete was introduced in the city of Chicago and began displacing union concrete-mixers, "standby" laborers were required to be employed. In New York City when construction material is carried by elevator for the rearrangement of a floor area, a hoisting engineer must stand by and be paid for doing nothing. And so on.

The Petrillo case, and particularly the editorial comment it evoked, if it proves nothing else, proves that industry does not propose voluntarily to devote any portion of the profits it derives from the use of labor-saving devices to provide for the men whose employment such technological improvements must inexorably displace. But if private enterprise will not engage in "a private relief scheme" for those of its workers whose craft and very livelihood are technologically demolished, why is it not a proper union activity to provide relief for these jettisoned workers? And to demand that part of the profits derived from the use of labor-saving devices be directed to this end?

But there is, of equal importance, a question in the converse. If private enterprise cannot be constrained to provide for these displaced workers, is it a proper area of union activity to strike against the introduction of job-displacing machinery? Over this question industry and labor have been locked bitterly and indecisively since first the British weavers fought the replacement of hand looms by power looms.

On any ground, however, we cannot permit the technological progress of our country to be halted by the inability of industry and labor to arrive at a peaceable basis for the displacement of man by the machine. Upon the rate of our technological advance the wealth of the nation depends. It is primarily to the fact that American technology has moved ahead at a rapidly accelerating rate that we owe our colossal power in war and our unrivaled standard of living in peace.

Accordingly, since industry and labor have patently been unable to cut through this all-important technological knot, government, as the guardian of free enterprise and the preceptor of the nation's welfare, can no longer disregard the conflict. It must evolve a legislative formula which, on the one hand, will free our technological genius from the restrictive forces of organized labor, and on the other, adequately ensure the worker against the loss of his vocation by machinery.

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Our new Congress ought promptly to undertake a study of technological unemployment preparatory to the enactment of appropriate legislation directed to the solution of this problem. Basically, the required legislation must provide for a broadly expanded unemployment-insurance program in place of the present short-term dole. It must offer a realistic vocational retraining program for the technologically displaced worker with increased compensation benefits during the period of retraining.

However, these benefits must not be granted unless Congress concomitantly imposes upon labor a legislative prohibition against the right, whether by strike or otherwise, to halt or prevent the introduction of labor-saving machinery. No union can in good faith oppose such an injunction, for in the last analysis the extension of these proposed benefits provides the very insurance that labor requires against the momentary job displacement caused by technological progress. For the fundamental purpose of this program is by legislation to conclude between labor and industry an agreement under which we can maintain that unfettered technological development upon which the prosperity and welfare of our American system depend.

If Petrillo's victory succeeds in directing the attention of Congress and the nation at large to the urgent necessity of resolving for all time the centuries-old conflict over technological unemployment, there is a case for Petrillo that will go far beyond the immediate objectives he sought to achieve. BERNARD B. SMITH

Latin American Balance Sheet: IV

TODAY the Western Hemisphere is secure from invasion and the submarine campaign in New World waters has been licked. The emphasis in Latin American military operations now pivots on the great supply route that runs from the United States south to Brazil's bulge and across to Africa. But when we began expanding military operations in this hemisphere in 1940 and 1941, the democracies were taking a beating. We had to prepare against a day when we would have to deal single-handed with victorious enemies in Europe and Asia. We had to secure all approaches to the New World and protect supply lines.

There were four chief danger spots. First of all, the Panama Canal had to have an air-tight defense. This meant strengthening the sea-air arc through the Caribbean Islands. On the Pacific coast, central and northern South America from Mexico's southern border to Ecuador's Galapagos Islands had to be covered.

Second, the Japanese had for years had their eyes on the west coast of Mexico, where their naval officers had served in Japanese fishing boats. A general on the Mexican army staff admitted to this writer in 1940 that the Japs knew these waters better than anybody in the world. Third, the long dry coast of Peru had also been singled out for special attention by the Japanese, who had set up a strong colony near the Peruvian bulge. Fourth, of course, was Brazil's bulge, so dangerously close to a threatened Africa.

Two general threats hung over all of Latin America. The Nazis had long-standing plans for subversive movements. Latin American armies were key factors here, since no revolt could succeed without considerable army support. The Nazis were also raiding hemisphere sea lanes. After Pearl Harbor this type of warfare took on the proportions of a full campaign in Caribbean and Atlantic waters.

The American republics had foreseen the sea warfare at the Panama meeting in 1939 and agreed to patrol hemisphere waters individually or collectively. Sea-air patrols in the Canal region and along the bulge were operating before Pearl Harbor.

Political sanction for bi-lateral military agreements was given by all the American republics at Havana in July, 1940. The Declaration of Havana, made when it looked as if an attack on the Americas from Europe was imminent, stated that "All signatory nations, or two or more of them, according to circumstances, shall proceed to negotiate the necessary complementary agreements so as to organize coöperation for defense. . . ."

Staff discussions about Lend-Lease for Latin America had begun shortly before the Havana conference opened. Agreements are in force today with every republic except Argentina and Panama. Every Latin American army had been anxious to expand and get modern equipment. The Lend-Lease program identified their interests with hemisphere defense and made it extremely hard for the Nazis to bore from within.

The United States began to build up Caribbean defenses in 1940. Early in 1941, after invoking the new treaty with Panama—which provided joint responsibility for the Canal's safety—we asked permission to build airports and gun emplacements throughout her territory. This was readily granted. By the fall of 1941, airports from Cuba to the tip of the Brazilian bulge, in use for months for the ferry service to Africa, were being enlarged. The Mexicans had agreed for us to improve ports and airports and build military airfields. A huge new air base in the heart of Guatemala was nearing completion.

When the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor, all the Central American and Caribbean republics promptly declared war. After Germany and Italy came in against us, they declared war on them too. Mexico, Venezuela

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and Colombia broke diplomatic relations with our enemies, closing a defense area around the Canal. Prompt military measures were taken all over the hemisphere to prevent sabotage against military bases, power plants and dams, oil fields, cable stations, airports and every other installation of potential military value.

By the time the Rio conference had met and all the republics except Argentina and Chile had decided to break relations, Germans and Japanese were under restrictions in all danger areas. Peru put them under police control. Ecuador, Colombia, the Central American countries and Mexico moved them inland from coast regions where they could coöperate in enemy raids on the Canal or in landing attempts. This was an extremely important complementary measure backing up our sea-air patrol of the Canal area.

Ecuador, which for years had resisted all suggestions for granting us the right to extend Canal defenses to her strategic Galapagos Islands, made this concession after Pearl Harbor. A base has also been established at Salinas, on the Ecuadorian mainland. This immensely widens the Canal defense and places the Peruvian coast within our sea-air arc. A Joint Mexican-American Defense Board was set up early in 1942.

A Joint Brazilian-American Defense Board was formed soon after the Rio meeting. Naval equipment was lent to Brazil and naval and air personnel were trained to operate patrol ships and planes. It was agreed to enlarge the air bases on Brazilian soil. Soon a combined sea-air campaign against Axis submarines had been organized under the strategic direction of the Commander of the United States Fourth Fleet. Ten sub-chasers were loaned to the Cuban navy. Both Brazilian and Cuban naval forces have taken part in convoy activities.

In the spring of 1943, Brazil announced she would send troops overseas to fight, and this has now been done. The fact has political significance, since it has given Brazil a rating as an active participant in the military offensive against the Axis and entitles her to speak in the peace councils.

While the submarine campaign was threatening supply lines to the Canal, the United States Army began a rush job to finish the Inter-American Highway through Central America. Before the work was completed, the sub menace was banished and the army withdrew. The road is being finished by Central American countries, aided by various United States appropriations and loans.

At the Rio meeting it was decided to set up an Inter-American Defense Board to advise the American republics on over-all defense measures. This board, with representatives from every country—many of them chiefs of staffs—has achieved solid results in recommending strict measures against subversive radio activity in the hemisphere. They have made a number of constructive recommendations regarding precautions for ships in port, the passage of military aircraft from country to country and the exchange of air information. The creation of this board is important, since it provides a mechanism through which an over-all defense system can be maintained in time of peace. A House Naval Affairs Subcommittee has already suggested turning United States naval ships over to "friendly" Latin American countries after the war.

Our largest military expenditures in Latin America have come in the years 1942, 1943 and 1944 and are reported at approximately $500 million. As the War Department broke it down on December 10, 1943, materials, labor and supervision for airport construction cost a little over $346 million. Personal services other than for construction cost nearly $6 million. Military material came to $125 million. The rush job on the Inter-American Highway through Central America cost over $21 million in 1943. Estimates place the war's cost at well over $250 billion to date. If this is a fair estimate, then our Latin American military operations have come to one five-hundredth of the total.

Important as our politico-military "holding" operations in Latin America have been, it is the great air highway through the Caribbean and down the Atlantic coast of South America to the Brazilian bulge that has contributed most to our offensive effort. If all our expenditures in Latin America had achieved only the right to use this highway, they would have been cheap at the price. It was this feed line that held up the tottering British in North Africa until supplies and reinforcements for counter-attack could reach them by sea.

This air highway has been and is a springboard for Russia as well as for Africa, Italy and the Middle East. Material rushed over this route today is proving decisive in the India-China theatre. Secretary Stimson wrote, in December, 1943: "At certain times of the year these have been our only completely effective airways across the Atlantic and at all times they have been a vital pipe line to many strategic areas."

The whole question of the cost, the purpose and the future of our program in and for Latin America can be infinitely distorted. Too many North Americans, and too many Latin Americans also, have the idea that our spending there is part of "buying good will." The fact is that by far the greater part of our program simply adds up to hemisphere defense. Good will is a by-product. Another mistake is to blame United States spending for creating inflation in Latin America. Inflation certainly exists, in some countries to an extreme degree. Latin America, with money in pocket from our war purchases, has not been able to spend it for supplies from abroad, where war manufacturing has priority. Prices have of course gone up. If Latin American governments had cared, and had been able, to control prices, the cost of living need not have risen so much as it has. The United States did what it could

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in the circumstances by putting a stiff control on export prices. Our authorities of course can do nothing after the goods become the property of Latin Americans.

Our food programs have actually helped to relieve shortage pressures. United States troops stationed in Latin America have been fed from local surpluses, from the United States or from new local food production started for their benefit.

Every step of the development of our war program in Latin America has been accompanied by deep questionings about the future. It should be pointed out in all fairness that the Latin Americans are not the only people who wonder what this country is going to do after the war. We wonder ourselves.

The answer in hemisphere relations obviously cannot depend entirely on the United States. A period of adjustment will necessarily come, since we cannot of course go on buying the quantities of war materials we are taking now. Just as certainly we cannot, for political reasons, suddenly dump Latin America overboard economically, as we did during the depression. If inter-American unity is not cracked wide open from within Latin America, this country will find some way to ease the readjustment period. Discussions are under way about stockpiling certain war materials. This may make it possible for Latin America to ease down this type of production gradually.

In the first article of this series, I described how on the eve of war the American republics were beginning to work together on plans to develop Latin America. This plan is being taken up again and promises to cushion Latin America against a postwar collapse. The formation of the Mexican-American Commission to work toward a sound industrialization of Mexico set a precedent. Many countries—Haiti, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and others—already have development plans well advanced. The Inter-American Development Commission, which held its first conference in New York City last May, is working on recommendations that will integrate the many development movements and carry all the countries forward together.

Latin Americans will have many new roads, ports, mines and factories as a result of our war program there. They are piling up a huge credit balance and will have a half-billion or more to spend for imported goods. They are getting new skills and new products.

When the war is over, it will be seen that, in spite of passing economic unhappiness due to inflation, the Latin American countries have not done too badly. As a matter of fact, since the war is giving to Latin America the surplus capital needed for national development, that area is going to be the only region of the world that actually gains from the war.

VIRGINIA PREWETT

This is the final article of a series that has assessed the results of our good-neighbor policy in Latin America. – THE EDITORS

Problems of Middle Europe

I. Hungary and the New Europe

The imminent fall of Budapest and the prospect of a Russian drive on Vienna make timely these two articles discussing the general situation and problem of Austria and Hungary after the war. – THE EDITORS

OF THE NUMEROUS satellite European countries which fought for Hitler in this war, Hungary alone is left in the German camp. According to a grim joke circulating among Hungarians, "We shall fight Hitler after the collapse of Germany." An awkward situation indeed, considering that Hungary was expected to be the first to desert the Axis. Her reluctance to participate in this war was well known; not even her present pro-Nazi rulers concealed it. The majority of Hungarians definitely dislike the Germans. Why then is it their doom to shed their blood for the Nazis longer than anybody else?

Their geographical position partly explains this. No natural barrier protects them from their neighbor, the Greater Reich, while, on their other frontiers, the Carpathians form a strong natural barrier against those of their neighbors counting on Russian help. In such circumstances, insistence on the sort of "independence" enjoyed by small countries nowadays could not counterbalance the pressure of an aggressive Great Power. Hungary, whatever her wishes might be, had to choose between allegiance to Germany and coöperation with her Czecho-Slovak, Yugoslav and Rumanian neighbors against Germany. The mountains could have been the common strongholds of these small nations instead of barriers between them. But this idea was utterly incompatible with the policy accepted in Hungary.

The feverish months of revolution in Hungary after the last war had frightened the Entente and Hungary's neighbors. It was quickly forgotten that the ostracized liberal elements in Hungary had always stood for coöperation, while the reactionaries had agitated for war. The victors thought only of maintaining the social *status quo* and found Admiral Horthy and his associates very suitable for the task. Once the reactionaries had gained power, which they did with the help of the Entente and the Rumanian army, they concentrated on a violent anti-Rumanian, anti-Czech and anti-French policy.

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Hungary has since been ruled by a super-nationalist and feudal system, which has two aspects. One of them is well known and is often referred to in Anglo-American political literature: Less than two thousand families, members of the nobility and others, own about one-third of Hungary's arable and forest land and through their social position wield a still greater influence in politics. These feudal magnates have naturally opposed anything that threatened their privileges. The newly founded national states around Hungary, and especially Czecho-Slovakia, with her democratic institutions, were "ungentlemanly" powers in the view of the Hungarian rulers, and they were therefore much opposed to any reconciliation with them. The Treaty of Trianon was indubitably unfair, as it took from Hungary some pure Hungarian districts, but the policy of "revisionism" fostered by the Hungarian feudalists did not really aim at obtaining a reasonable and peaceful revision but at discrediting the "plebeian" nations and alienating the Hungarians from them. In addition, the constant reference to the damage caused by the Treaty of Trianon provided the most effective slogan to divert the attention of the people from the necessity of democratic reforms.

Nevertheless these feudal magnates did not really want war, or complete German domination, which would endanger their hopes of security. But there was another and much more dangerous element of Hungarian feudalism: a broad pseudo-gentry and pseudo-aristocracy, a mass of dispossessed landlords, would-be intellectuals, military officers disbanded after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and officials who had lost their jobs as a result of the Treaty of Trianon. These were land-hungry and position-hungry. They wanted a dictatorship in their own country and the seizure of territories from other countries by any means.

This obsession with nationalist propaganda has hurt the will to resistance of the Hungarian people throughout the war. Former Prime Minister Count Teleki, who tried to combine a pro-Axis policy with neutrality in the war, developed the theory that Hungary might be able to acquire large territories from her neighbors with German help, and in the meantime keep her army intact so that by the end of the war she would be able to create *faits accomplis*. His policy was doomed to failure when Germany obtained Hungary's participation in the attack on Yugoslavia; Count Teleki, seeing the bankruptcy of his policy, committed suicide.

But unfortunately the Hungarians still did not see that they ought to decide for one line or the other without reservations. Although there were many brave men and good democrats among them, there was really no platform either within or outside the country from which it could have been explained to them properly that unless they renounced their imperialist aims and their fascist sympathies, they could not count on good will from the United Nations. While embroiling themselves in the war against Russia and finally against Britain and the USA, they still hoped to avoid the real consequences of the war and to dissociate themselves from Germany in the final outcome. But the Germans, seeing through this clumsy plan, on March 19, 1944, occupied the country, and as the anti-Nazi forces had already disintegrated, there was no one to resist them. The Allies began to make devastating air raids on Hungarian towns. Hungary, which tried to obtain the benefits of German victory without sharing in its risks, has had to endure German occupation as well as the disadvantages of fighting for Germany.

The future of Hungary very largely depends on a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, the English-speaking powers and the neighboring nations. This will be backed by the majority of the population after the liberation, if the victorious powers and Hungary's neighboring states show an understanding of and sympathy for the representatives of Hungarian democracy. Any conciliatory or appeasing gesture toward the survivals of the Horthy regime would be as catastrophic as would be the humiliation of the Hungarian people as a whole. Once the Hungarians are convinced that only if they renounce the whole heritage of the Horthy regime can they reckon on the good will of their neighbors and of the Great Powers, they will certainly contribute to peace and progress in Eastern Europe.

London PAUL IGNOTUS

II. Austria's Future

IN THE LAST WAR Austria cracked up before Germany. Paralyzed by hunger and economic disorganization, the monarchy disintegrated under the double impact of military disaster and internal revolt.

Today there are signs that Austria may again prove one of the weakest spots in the German war camp. But the causes are quite different this time. Today, Austria is not the center, but a patch on the fringe of an empire. She does not dominate a host of other peoples; she is herself occupied territory. It is not a question of Czechs, Croats, Poles, Italians being pressed into the Austrian army; Austrians are pressed into the German army. Ukrainians, Czechs and Frenchmen are forced to labor in Austrian fields and factories, but, equally, Austrians are slaving by tens of thousands in German factories and on the land, east of the Elbe.

There is nothing Austrians can now call their own. Their industries are under the control of a few huge German monopoly combines; their banks are all but nominally branches of the German Big Five; their savings are frozen in German state bonds; their cities —foremost among them Vienna and Linz—swarm with armies of state officials, Gestapo agents, profiteers

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and evacuees from the Reich. Their forests are cut down, their iron ore, magnesite and oil are fed to the German war machine, their milk and butter go to the Reich. And the country's manpower has been bled white on the battlefields of Russia.

The Austrians, in short, have been converted into slaves of German imperialism. But they are not its dupes. They never were; otherwise Hitler would not have had to march into the country to stop the Schuschnigg plebiscite in 1938. There were some who had fallen for Hitler's empty promises and for the glitter of the might of a Greater Germany; but after five and one-half years of first-hand experience of the blessings of the Nazi regime all but a small minority of unscrupulous careerists and SS scoundrels have but one overwhelming desire: to get rid of the Germans and see the end of the war.

Obviously, this does not mean that the great mass of the Austrian people have as yet been moved to active resistance. That is still confined to the most advanced and daring. But go-slow movements in the factories, grumbling, and critical jokes are quite universal. A number of popular poems have come through to London which revive an old Austrian tradition: satire as a weapon against reaction. They are written in the kind of broad Viennese which would baffle the most hard-boiled Gestapo spy. Their rhythm and refrains stick in the memory, and there is no need for circulation through incriminating print.

In spite of the Moscow Conference's Declaration of 1943 that the United Nations "regard the annexation imposed upon Austria by Germany's penetration of March 15, 1938, as null and void," there are still some Austrians who regard the desire for the restoration of an independent Austria as something of an anachronism. Some of them claim that the reëmergence of some 28 independent sovereign states in Europe would constitute a return to outmoded forms of government; that a Federal Union of at least European scope is needed.

No one would deny that international coöperation is required on a greater scale than before the war. But this is felt to be conditional on the restoration of full national sovereignty and, with it, national self-respect. The restoration of sovereignty is the overriding and, at the same time, the most unifying goal of all the aspirations and struggles of the enslaved peoples of Europe today. It is in the very process of mobilizing the whole nation in the movement of resistance against Hitler that the peoples of Europe are striving toward a common objective and forging strong links of brotherhood. There should be no difficulty in reconciling national pride—allied with democratic and progressive aspirations—with close cooperation on a supra-national scale.

The other argument is that Austria "cannot live" because she is too small and economically too weak to be able to stand on her own. Republican Austria was dependent on imported foodstuffs and on raw materials like cotton, wool and coal, and at the same time on exports of manufactured goods, iron ore, timber and magnesite. But Austria was no more dependent on international trade than Britain, and few would claim that Britain "cannot live." The country had some difficulty in adjusting her economy to the entirely new conditions in which she found herself after the last war. But she succeeded in a short time in carrying out a number of major structural changes, changes necessitated by the general trend toward self-sufficiency in every country. She developed her basic agriculture; water power was harnessed to replace the coal that had formerly been drawn from Bohemia and other parts of the empire; and there was a further development of the textile industry.

Austria's productivity in these spheres compared favorably with that of the other Succession States, including Czechoslovakia. According to Colin Clark, over the period 1925-34, her national income per head of 511 "international units" was comparable with 684 units in France and 646 units in Germany (not a very striking inferiority), and with 455 in Czechoslovakia, 359 in Hungary and 343 in Italy.

Austria suffered from severe unemployment in the years after 1929. But this was hardly more serious than in most industrial countries, if anything less so than in the USA. Yet nobody would suggest that the United States "cannot live."

Austria, it is said, suffered from a lack of balance in the distribution of her population between town and country; nearly one-third of her people lived in Vienna alone. It is not clear what is meant by "balance" in economics. But if a big proportion of the population is engaged in secondary and tertiary (*i.e.*, mainly urban) occupations, it is usually interpreted as an indication of high economic development. The proportion of the Austrian population engaged in agriculture, industries, manufacturing, transport and services, was actually very close to the corresponding proportions in Czechoslovakia and the United States.

A free and independent Austria will certainly be able to live. She will require some initial assistance from the United Nations. Seven years of Hitler have impoverished her economy and decimated her manpower. How far Austria can count on help for her postwar reconstruction depends largely on the extent to which she takes an active part in the ejection of the Nazi occupationists. She must remember, in the words of the Three Power declaration, "that she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation."

London THEODOR PRAGER

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Washington Notes

Foreign and Domestic Matters

ALL SIGNS INDICATE the Big Three will soon meet. Active work on the agenda is now under way here in the State Department. If the meeting is postponed again it will be very bad news, but all plans look to a quick gathering.

Mr. Stettinius probably will attend. Anthony Eden's recommendation for regular meetings of Big Three foreign ministers is received sympathetically here. France may be included. It is assumed the gathering will occur shortly after the President's inaugural January 20; many think it will come this month. Incidentally, two other New World gatherings will be intimately affected. First is the conference of Pan American foreign ministers at Mexico City in mid-February. Mr. Stettinius leads an American delegation there, so if he attends the Stalin-Churchill-Roosevelt parley he will have to move fast. This conference can do a lot in relating a successful Big Three meeting to Western Hemisphere affairs. Second is the full-dress meeting of the United Nations members to approve the Dumbarton Oaks program, provided the Big Three can in the meantime settle present differences on collective security: notably whether members of the proposed Council will have a veto over disputes affecting themselves.

In various ways the nations are strengthening their hands before the conference. Stalin has presented recognition of the Lublin Poles on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. A blast of British press criticism answering American attacks has indicated that Mr. Churchill will have popular home support. The unanimity of this attack may have some significance. Anyone who has been in Britain during the war knows the almost painful patience which the press has heretofore shown to American criticism, much of it easy-going and irresponsible. As for the United States, Mr. Roosevelt has outlined his middle-of-the-road foreign policy in last Saturday's message to Congress. That, too, is in preparation for the Big Three meeting.

President Roosevelt's call for national-service legislation will have hard sledding, however apparent may be the need. Everybody in theory wants an all-out war. But an all-out war requires all-out sacrifices. Mr. Roosevelt in the past asked for a "realistic" tax policy; Congress (and the public) couldn't swallow it. Roosevelt imposed a $25,000 salary-limitation; Congress repealed it. One result is that we are now in the middle of an inflationary binge. The Associated Press stock-market index, based on the average of 60 representative stocks, stood at 50 a year ago, and is about 60 as this is written. There will be ups and downs, but in general a rich man who invested $50,000 a year ago would have an extra $10,000 today. (If he invested shrewdly, he would have more.) Why the increase? Because fellow Americans are waging a war and haven't adopted adequate tax, price, inflation and similar all-out controls. Mr. Roosevelt's appeal for a national-service law now, because "it would provide supreme proof to all our fighting men that we are giving them what they are entitled to, which is nothing less than our total effort," is eloquent. (It will seem all the more so when the new casualty figures come out: they will be the grimmest of the war.) But the difficulty remains. Last year Mr. Roosevelt coupled national-service recommendations with conditions requiring equality of sacrifice from other groups beside workers. He omits these this year. National-service and profit-extraction legislation should go hand-in-hand. Neither, alone, is "all-out war."

The House vote, 207 to 186, to revive the Dies Committee, was a perfect thing of its kind. In its first legislative action, after a presidential election, the House set the tone, and showed who is its master for the term. The GOP-poll-tax Democratic coalition still rules. In a sense the vote was salutary; it destroyed illusions: the House is still conservative, fears labor, holds Roosevelt leadership lightly. The action showed how justified was a vote against the Republicans in the past election; how important is the CIO-PAC and its continuance. The vote on the Rankin measure, you remember, gave 137 Republicans and 70 Democrats, for; 34 Republicans, 150 Democrats and 2 of minor parties, against. Actually, I would expect the new "Dies" committee—if it gets funds and authorization—to be a rather pale imitation of the old.

The Senate Republican "committee of committees" is composed of eight men: White, Austin, Thomas (Idaho), Taft, Brooks, Willis, Butler and Robertson. With the exception of the first two, their pre-Pearl Harbor record is all isolationist. Five of the seven who voted in 1940-41 opposed Lend-Lease; five would have ended the draft law four months before Pearl Harbor; the same five, Taft, Brooks, Willis, Butler and Thomas, voted one month before Pearl Harbor to continue the Neutrality Act. (Robertson didn't vote, since he entered the Senate in 1942, but he teams with the majority.) This was the committee which picked the Republican successor to isolationist Gerald P. Nye on the all-important Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The choice was between Senator Chan Gurney of South Dakota, an intelligent internationalist, and Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, a windy isolationist blow-hard who makes Senate speeches nobody listens to. The criterion for election is primarily seniority, but Gurney and Wiley entered the Senate at the same time. Then the test is alphabetical order—Gurney came first. But the isolationists picked Wiley, one of their own kind. One member explained later he didn't like Gurney's record—voted too often with the Administration.

Sooner or later a full-fledged investigation into governmental "leaks" will be made here. They are a recognized method of getting out information. The State and War Departments let distorted details of the so-called "Morgenthau Plan" of treating Germany "leak" out, to pay off their Treasury Department rival; Ernest Lindley's official communications from Ambassador Hayes in Spain, in the January Harper's, are a "leak"; Drew Pearson has the FBI worried again over how he got the paraphrase of Churchill's instructions to General Scobie in Athens. Sometimes, to coin a metaphor, a "leak" bites the hand that feeds

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it, as note Arthur Krock's tip just before the election that old meany Roosevelt was bargaining away Lend-Lease rights to the British. One department in Washington actually has a man widely known as "the official leak," who passes out slanted matter plus valuable tips to pet columnists.

Notes: GOP Leader Brownell writhed at a press conference when reporters asked if Democrat Rankin were the new Republican House leader, after the Dies vote. . . . Dr. George Gallup is showing strain: the Anderson Committee investigating his poll has turned his files over to four federal forecasting experts for a scientific work-out. . . . Lacking the late Wendell Willkie, there was no Republican of national stature to protest the Wiley appointment. . . . Young Joe Ball looks more and more lonesome in the GOP camp. . . . The joint committee to "streamline" Congress can't get far: there's a joker in its authorization banning procedural recommendations which covers about everything. . . . As of last week, when I asked him, Henry Wallace had no knowledge of any post-inaugural job. Some feel he should head the new Food and Agricultural organization of the United Nations.

Washington T. R. B.

New Year Start

On the Town, book by Betty Comden and Adolph Green, based on an idea by Jerome Robbins. Adelphi Theatre, December 29, 1944.

Sing Out, Sweet Land! by Walter Kerr. International Theatre, December 27, 1944.

Trio, by Dorothy and Howard Baker, adapted from the novel by Dorothy Baker. Belasco Theatre, December 29, 1944.

CERTAINLY a better than usual start for the new year is comprised in the musical show "On the Town," the Theatre Guild's "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" and "Trio," the adaptation of Dorothy Baker's novel of that name. "On the Town" got a big send-off from the newspaper reviews and is set to be a great hit. It is a populous show, speeded up with George Abbott's famous directing, whirling, jumping and getting there every minute. Ten lines are required in the program to tell all the people involved in its composition, decomposition, parricide, suicide and simulation, and you must look there or in the papers to find all that. The entire production is in plain clothes for the most part, and bare skin and sailor suits; and the show will be called delightful, homey, fresh, young and lively. Most of the many settings are bright and ugly, the Coney Island night scenes easy but very effective. It would be nonsense for me to pretend to judge it further.

I went to "On the Town" because of the amount of joyous prophecy about it, but the quantity of gloomy comment I seemed to hear and read about the Theatre Guild's new piece, supposed to be ambitious of repeating the fortunes of "Oklahoma!," was considerable. As a matter of fact I should say that "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" is very well worth seeing indeed. It has some good proper high spots; at moments it is stunning, quite beautiful, to the eye most of all and often to the ear.

There is an attempt to find a genuine theme for this whole affair; all through it runs the effort to create a kind of folk fable: America singing, America saved by a song, the people's wild and scattered heart gathered up and given its life again through our songs, songs, songs, countless songs. To carry this fable we have the one central hero, Barnaby Goodchild—Mr. Alfred Drake, who helped to launch "Oklahoma!"—who wanders through the land and the epochs with his songs and his feet that will not let him rest. The scenes chosen for this are Puritan New England, The Illinois Wilderness, The Oregon Trail, The South, Mississippi Boat, Civil War Campfire, Railroad Station in Texas, City Park, Speakeasy Night Club, Aircraft Carrier, Barnaby Goodchild gets about at any rate, that is clear; though it is just as clear that the fable itself gets nowhere. On this side, that of a serious attempt to invent something, "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" is a sorry failure.

To do anything at all with such a legend there must be in the first place a sense of language, simple, ballad, folksy, slang, idiom, epic or whatever, so long as it is creative and infectious. There is nothing of that in the whole script. Most of Mr. Drake's lines are flat, banal or often slushy. His crucial lines, as it were, where the themes of the legend, the motifs, appear, are downright embarrassing. This impression is by no means lessened by a frequent squirting of charm, sweet-fellowness or coyness that Mr. Drake has either been directed to exhibit or else has a taste for. At any rate it is embarrassing and dull, and he has too good a singing voice to let himself into that sort of thing. As an actor Mr. Drake is still where he works too hard in the scene, an effect that is more amiable than intelligent or concentrated. He is an asset, nevertheless, because his spirit is right and because he sings well all through the many numbers; in the hobo song, "Wanderin'," he sings beautifully.

To Mr. Drake's songs are added those sung by Mr. Burl Ives, known everywhere for his ballad singing on radio and in records. It would be hard to convey how remarkable he is in his special field.

But once the fable intent or creative ambition is set aside, "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" is full of bright theatre moments. Many of the dances arranged by Miss Doris Humphrey and Mr. Charles Weidman are swirling and capital. The settings by Mr. Albert Johnson are full of his great talent. The costumes, endless in number and variety and design, are by Miss Lucinda Ballard. They are heartening theatre indeed, and are the best things in the production.

The dragging portions of "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" are toward the first. It picks up steadily as it goes South, in fact it hardly comes alive till it gets there. I was led to reflect on my own little section of our country, the fact that, though it is no less reprehensible on that account of course, it does seem to be entertaining.

The occasion of "Trio" was welcomed even by many who did not care for the play itself. The question of censorship was involved, the freedom of the theatre art to choose its subjects. The theme in question here is that of lesbianism. The treatment of that theme in this play is marked by good taste, serious feeling and dignity of thought, and should offend nobody.

The story of "Trio" is too complicated even to outline here; many will know it from the widely praised novel from which it is adapted. A woman scholar, a young girl

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protégé and a university student are the three figures in the drama, and around them is the university and its atmosphere. That atmosphere and its personages are done in this case with sense and an effect of the literate and discreet, which is partly to be credited to the authors, partly to the excellent company and a very great deal to the director, Mr. Bretaigne Windust. Mr. Stewart Chaney has done a décor of two scenes that is stylish and convincing.

Miss Lydia St. Clair, an actress new to our stage but said to enjoy much renown in Paris, played the older woman with distinction and with variety, though at times she seemed to me to check the moment by being either a trifle slow or else too brittle, I could not tell which. Miss Lois Wheeler as the young girl played competently for the most part; in the second, tense act quite well, in the last not so well. Mr. Richard Widmark, except for some of his transitions in body or in emotion that are not yet fluent enough, played the young man better than any other of our younger actors could do, very intelligent, pulled together and full of the right feeling.

The play itself went slow at times, as if it were a novel, but was often most absorbing. The attenion of the audience was such as I have not seen in a long time, and that is a fact that speaks for itself.

STARK YOUNG

Just Plain Folks

"THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM" tells an awful story about a Catholic priest, Francis Chisholm, who is helped into the Church by the catastrophic drowning of his parents, someone's seduction of his sweetheart and her death in childbirth, and who lives his life thereafter—in China, from 1878 to 1938—from catastrophe to catastrophe. The movie's attempt to show the actions, character and ideas that are keys to the kingdom is generally waylaid by a number of things; but the characterization of the hero as a self-effacing, kind, slow-witted man, the endless rebuffs by the world that the script writers throw in his face, and the playing of him by Gregory Peck are so likable that you will probably get some feeling of the superiority of humility and tolerance to their opposites.

The film, though, is more concerned with the current religious-movie pursuit, which is to show that the Church does enter, on many occasions, as actively and completely as anybody else into world affairs, and to influence any Church official who may be stuffy to be otherwise. The symbolic scene for this comes, I think, when the curate (Edmund Gwenn), who is supposed to be reprimanding his student, takes him fishing instead and is seen, up to his cassocked waist in brook water, trying to catch fish. After that the hero, who has already got into trouble for some of his behavior (such as befriending an atheist), goes on to behave in an even less orthodox way. I doubt that the movie's championing of this kind of priest will rub anyone else's ideas the wrong way, because for one thing it is zealously careful to over-explain the reasonableness of the Father's actions and then to take the sting out of them. Some idea of the limits it goes to can be had from the difficult, perplexing maneuver it makes to get its priest infuriated at Chinese resistance to his using surgery on a mandarin's child so that he can dramatically ask God to forgive his anger, since he and God know that God and not surgery saved the child. If anybody is upset by the film's idea, it will be in spite of the general softening of a trite story.

Some of the story's outstanding faults are that many of the episodes can be predicted before they start and the rest before they finish; there are several hundred too many and they are too big. The latter overburden everybody: the hero often has to read from letters and diaries as he writes them; the off-screen narrator (Sir Cedric Hardwicke) has to do some hectic explaining to make the sudden great leaps in time not seem silly. It makes such areas of the hero's life as his youth seem like a five o'clock subway ride, and leads to embarrassing, hurried explanations (like "My knee had just healed when . . .") for the transitions from crisis to crisis. Situations seem contrived and melodramatic partly because there is little time to make them seem less so. There isn't room here to explain why it is that a Hollywood picture that starts off with a young, kindly priest on his way to China as a missionary is so entirely predictable.

Some good work by Director John Stahl, Writers Joseph Mankiewicz and Nunnally Johnson, and efficient acting by everybody but Roddy McDowall and Thomas Mitchell, relieve some of the doughiness and give the story a humanity that is more dignified than Hollywood's usual treatment of the human race. Its situations are projected with almost as little sentimentality as would be possible without deciding against filming A. J. Cronin's original novel at all, which would have been my advice. There seems to be a general good knowledge of what the people in this story would be like, which is apparent when a young Chinese convert tries to pull (literally) an old beggar into the church. The attitude toward this scene, which is supposed to show the wrong way to do missionary work, is wholesomely comic; the pulling-in is done in an energetic, athletic manner suitable to the glibness of the boy; the complete, dumb resistance of the ancient seems right; and the people look as they should and talk that way. Such acting as the hero's shaky, feather-fingered operation on the child and the interested, neither for nor against, watching of it done by a gallery of Confucianist priests, seems exceptionally subtle in its knowledge of human response. The movie uses ground, trees and buildings that are for once caked, rough and weathered enough to be primitive; the director realizes their beauty sufficiently, and even makes them thrilling. Gregory Peck seems essentially too well heeled, cold and sure for an insecure "peasant priest" but is still very skillful as Father Chisholm, and especially while being troubled and perplexed by his Cassandra-like sweetheart (who knows what's going to happen). He also gives a general impression of slow, dissatisfied thinking, and is best in some physical action like taking an exciting walk through the countryside.

"The Keys of the Kingdom" has as little success in projecting religious or exalted feeling as other Hollywood religious epics that use such devices as overweighted, obvious good deeds and overweighted, obvious rewards, and a too-melodramatic idea of where to find exalted goodness and of what it looks like on people's faces. Probably the most touching and true moments in this film happen when the striking figure of Father Chisholm is shown walking within an equally plain and beautiful landscape; in such scenes purity and reverence come out of the dignity and humility of the figure in its setting.

MANNY FARBER

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The Bandwagon

"If only the world knew," he [Goebbels] said, "that his [Hitler's] deep affection is bestowed not only on his own people but beyond it on the whole of mankind, it would even at this late hour, forsake its false gods and make him the object of its adulation." – *From an article in Das Reich, as quoted in The New York Herald Tribune.*

On the way to the ceremony, Mimi removed all of her expensive diamond rings and jeweled ornaments with the remark to her mother, Margaret Emerson, "I don't want Eddie to feel self-conscious. We both know he can't buy anything like this on his pay as an army officer." – *From an account of the wedding of Gloria Baker Topping to Brigadier General Edward Alexander, in The New York World-Telegram.*

Exegesis

Dr. Rubado [acting superintendent of Louisville schools] read from a fourth-grade science textbook a passage which was partly responsible for the charge of teaching evolution which was brought to the attention of the board by Frank H. Gregg, secretary of the Louisville Council of Churches, at the instigation of Mrs. Laura Nelson, 523 E. Walnut. The excerpt stated in effect that the world is made up of plant or animal life. A little girl in the text said she was quite sure she wasn't a plant and was she an animal? The teacher replied, yes, dear, she was an animal. "Monkeys were not brought up in the classroom, according to our best information," said Dr. Rubado. – *From The Louisville Courier-Journal.*

Total-War Department

Almost without exception, fire chiefs rate this OCD apparatus, hose and accessories definitely substandard and place no dependence upon it for fire defense. . . . Sheppard's letter urged that the $36 million worth of equipment be shipped overseas for use by the armed forces "where it is needed." – *From The Baltimore Evening Sun.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The GI and the American Dream

SIR: The current lament over the negative attitude of the GI's toward general war aims strikes anyone who has talked to them as so much intellectual abstraction. The tearful picture of the American soldier blundering his way to victory bereft of any ideal beyond blueberry pie and the Brooklyn Dodgers is unrealistic and even ridiculous.

As has been pointed out, the American soldier in the mass shares the social beliefs and hopes of the people from whom he has been temporarily and sharply separated. Time, distance and the abnormal conditions of global war have heightened the intensity of his vision of yearning. The ideals, his social ideals, are still fundamentally identical with the dream of the American people, the American Dream.

The American Dream is still that of John Applegate—the vision of the free enterpriser, with the job of his choice, his home, his family, his car and, with some luck, his own business. Freedom of speech and of conscience are embellishments that are taken for granted. And that dream still has enough of a substratum of social and economic reality to give it currency.

The dream, it is true, has taken a beating. The economic basis on which it rests has been steadily undermined since the beginning of the twentieth century. T. R. and Wilson, in their vociferous public defense of the dream and their quite vicious attacks on the gigantic corporations, were indicative of the inroads made into the vital substance of the American way of life. The twenties and the depression of 1929-40 further gnawed at its foundations. But battered and even tottering as it may be, the American Dream still possesses validity for a majority of Americans.

The GI fully shares this faith, and in intensified form. When he says he wants to get the war over with and go home, he wants everything the war has deprived him of. He wants to return to the United States, to have a steady job, to buy a home, raise a family, drive a car and, best of all, be his own boss in his own business.

He expects the political and economic leaders of our country to make possible the consummation of these ideals. For the benefits already extended to him by the GI Bill of Rights, he is grateful, and will certainly grasp each and every one that is coming to him. But he realizes that these are only makeshift means to the desired ends. What he wants above all is a steady job at good wages—the *sine qua non* of the American Dream.

The American soldier, moreover, knows that jobs for all can be provided. He has seen it done. He has seen the miracle of the greatest effort of industrial production the world has ever known. For years, technocrats and radicals have attempted in vain to prove to him that the industrial capacity of our country was unlimited. Now it has been proved indeed. And he and his buddies have learned from experience. They may not know that American industry had to be bribed to accomplish the all-out effort. They may not know that the cost in human lives and wasted effort was criminally great. But they do know that America can produce enough to give flesh to the Dream.

It is inconceivable that the American Dream will outlive a failure to accomplish full production in the postwar period. Failure and the reversion to monopoly-induced scarcity will knock the last pins from under the fabric of the dream and open the gates to a perfervid white Christian nationalism.

c/o Postmaster, San Francisco LIEUTENANT H. C.

Rural Electrification after the War

SIR: Your special section on "Prosperity" [The New Republic, November 27] is a very interesting and painstaking work. We realize that the subjects discussed were chosen as samples; you could not possibly have included, in 20 pages, a complete discussion of all of the desirable and important programs designed to contribute to the national economic well-being in the postwar period. Nevertheless, we believe some discussion of the impact of rural electrification on our postwar economy might well have had a place in your presentation.

We estimate that the extension of rural electric-power lines and the attendant installation of appliances and equipment by

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rural people will involve 2¾ million man-years of labor during the first five years after restrictions are lifted. If this program is carried out at the speed and scope which we predict, roughly 80 percent of our farms will have electric service in place of the present 40 percent and 1935's 10 percent. The rural families with electric service will have a higher standard of living in every way. They will have modern living conveniences, such as good light and running water. They will have modern working tools to produce higher-quality food with less labor and less waste. And they will provide a continuing market for new electric goods (we estimate that the 2½ million farms and 6.8 million non-farm rural residences already connected will spend more for wiring, plumbing and electrical appliances and equipment during the five-year reconversion period than will the 3.65 million establishments to be newly connected). Of course, a substantial part of this rural-electrification program can be undertaken as an integral part of river-valley developments.

We have recently released a study of prospects for rural electrification after the war. Copies are available from either our headquarters in St. Louis or our Washington Liaison Office.

WILLIAM J. NEAL, Acting Administrator,
St. Louis, Mo. Rural Electrification Administration

Against Permanent Conscription

SIR: Inadequate as are the Dumbarton Oaks provisions for world security, we wouldn't give it a beggar's chance if by enacting permanent conscription we became an armed camp and developed a war economy. It would appear to me that much success in American foreign affairs has been our willingness to arm only in desperation and for clear-cut anti-fascist reasons.

Greenville, O. FRANKLIN WALLICK

The Socialist Vote

SIR: In James Loeb Jr.'s "Post-Election Stock Taking" (The New Republic, November 20), Norman Thomas is credited with receiving "11,000 votes in New York City, not quite twice those compiled by his chief rival for the presidency, [Edward A.] Teichert of the Socialist Labor Party." Apparently Mr. Loeb got his figures from a "correction" which appeared in The New York Times, November 11. Where The Times got its information for the "correction" is a mystery. The only official tallies thus far released for the vote in New York City are those of the Police Department. The Weekly People checked the Police Department figures and found them to be as originally reported in The Times and The Herald Tribune. These gave Edward A. Teichert 11,902 votes, Norman Thomas 6,117. . . .

New York City ERIC HASS, Editor, The Weekly People

[Election returns from the entire nation, as reported by the United Press, gave Teichert a popular vote of 45,198, to 78,957 for Thomas. – THE EDITORS]

Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act

SIR: Your statements regarding the Pepper Resolution on page 677 of the issue of November 2 and on page 823 of the current issue (December 18) are not quite accurate. That resolution does not amend the Fair Labor Standards Act. All it does is to authorize the National War Labor Board to consider any wage lower than 65 cents an hour as substandard. The Board acts only when disputes between a union and an employer are submitted to it. It does not take the initiative. It follows, therefore, that plants which are not organized would not be affected by any action that may be taken by Congress on the Pepper Resolution.

An amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act, however, would apply to all workers, whether organized or unorganized. Another point should receive attention: namely, that the FLSA does not apply to farm workers or to domestic employees. It is to be hoped that whatever amendments are proposed in the present Congress, will remedy this deficiency while lifting the hourly minimum from 40 to 60 cents or at least 56 cents an hour. In all probability, either Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, or Mrs. Mary Norton, chairman of the House Committee on Labor, will sponsor such an amendment.

According to Drew Pearson, the President expressed himself in favor of an amendment of this kind at the first Cabinet session after the election.

GEORGE TUCH, Secretary,
National Workshirt Manufacturers' Association, Inc.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Via Air Mail

SIR: In publishing our communication in your January 1, 1945, issue, there was added below our names an organizational identification title which was incorrect, and embarrassing to the organization and to us. The communication was *about* the Independent Voters' League of Illinois, Inc., written *by* us *as individuals*. Our judgment of the IVI was an independent one and should be understood as such.

GERDA MARTIN
Chicago, Ill. HAROLD KATZ

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mr. Roger Picard writes from White Plains, New York, disagreeing with Heinz Eulau's "Diagnosis of Germany" (The New Republic, December 25). He advocates the dismemberment of Germany, the control of political life of the new German separate states, the complete control of their industries and trades and the "moral disintoxication" of the German people.

Marion Hubbard, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, writes us a strong condemnation of current trends in the advertising business. Not only have advertisers used the war as "a bandwagon for their wares," Miss Hubbard says, but they have deliberately contributed to class distinctions and national disunity by, for example, ads which show juvenile delinquency as the special property of the underprivileged. Our correspondent points out that freedom of the press "does not mean a press that has contracts with privately owned utility companies stipulating that the utility companies will run large advertisements provided the newspapers run editorials praising privately owned public utilities. Nor does it mean that our children are to be used by sinister forces intent on building a disunited and unbalanced nation."

Mr. F. M. Turner, of New York City, referring to Bernard Jaffe's review of John Mills's "Electronics Today and Tomorrow" (December 18), points out that the first electron microscope in America was constructed in the winter of 1937-8 at the University of Toronto by James Hillier and Albert Prebus, under the direction of the eminent physicist, Eli Franklin Burton. Mr. Jaffe replies that what he tried to say was "that Zworykin and Hillier in the RCA laboratories developed the most efficient *commercial* electron microscope *in use* today."

Broadus Mitchell, director of the Research Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York City, calls the attention of our New York City readers to a conference of the Inter-Union Institute to be held at the Park Central Hotel on Saturday, January 13, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., on the general topic, "Whither Labor, Whither the Nation?" Among the speakers and discussion leaders will be James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO; Malcolm Ross, chairman of the FEPC; William M. Leiserson, formerly of the National Labor Relations Board; Morris L. Cooke, consulting engineer; Walter P. Reuther, vice-president of the UAW; Julius Hochman, vice-president, ILGWU.

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Books in Review

Reading and Writing

OF THE 30 best-selling books of 1944 listed in the current Retail Bookseller and based upon figures supplied by one of the country's largest jobbers, 14 were reviewed in The New Republic. Of these, only one novel, Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit," of the seven out of the top fifteen reviewed in these pages, and two works of non-fiction (by the same author), Ernie Pyle's "Brave Men" and "Here Is Your War," were received here with any great enthusiasm. And it is important to notice at this point that no large portion of the merit of Miss Smith's and Mr. Pyle's books can be described as intrinsically literary.

"Strange Fruit" and the Pyle books were included in The New Republic's list of "Notable Books" of 1944, along with several other of the "Best Sellers"—Somerset Maugham's "The Razor's Edge," John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano," Joseph Stanley Pennell's "The History of Rome Hanks," Catherine Drinker Bowen's "Yankee from Olympus," Sumner Welles's "The Time for Decision," Margaret Landon's "Anna and the King of Siam" and the Beards' "Basic History of the United States." The term "notable" is employed advisedly to cover a variety of qualities, and in no case did the reviewer's opinion constitute complete endorsement, as the copywriters say. For example, "Yankee from Olympus" took quite a drubbing from Max Lerner in these columns; "The Razor's Edge" was reviewed at length but with coolness by Malcolm Cowley; and, in a review by Ralph Bates, "Anna and the King of Siam" came off second-best to another book in its genre, Elaine Sanceau's "The Land of Prester John."

Equally significant is the fact that the second, third, fourth and sixth books among the "Best Sellers" in fiction —"The Robe," "The Green Years," "Leave Her to Heaven" and "Forever Amber," respectively—were not reviewed in this paper. This was true also of the leader in non-fiction, Bob Hope's "I Never Left Home." (There was no snobbery involved here; Hope's virtues are aural and visual, and his gags in print, where his brilliant timing doesn't operate, are pretty much of a bore.) The third book on the non-fiction list ("Brave Men" was second), Gene Fowler's "Good Night, Sweet Prince," was flayed alive by Stark Young.

It is hardly surprising at this late date that such a gulf should exist between the taste of the reviewers and editors of The New Republic (the gulf exists to a greater or less degree with reference to The Nation, The Saturday Review of Literature and all other "literary organs," from The Herald Tribune Books to The Kenyon Review) and the reading public *and* the publishers—for it is a myth that the public unassistedly determines the composition of the best-seller lists. It is also possible that it is of no great importance as an index of cultural health or sickness. For best-selling "bad" books burn feverishly and depart quickly, and, with notorious exceptions, do little for good or evil to the body literary. The reputation of a "good" book—with similar exceptions—and its influence attain their proper stature eventually, however smothered or hidden its origin.

I am not, therefore, deeply impressed or distressed that the reading public seems determined—with the aid of the publishers and book clubs—to inaugurate the best-seller lists of 1945 with three books which will not seriously disturb the general level arrived at last year.

The Book-of-the-Month Club is distributing "Anything Can Happen,"[1] by George and Helen Papashvily, an account of the former's adventures in America. A Georgian by birth, Mr. Papashvily is now an American by residence and conviction. It is not difficult to understand his love for his adopted land on the basis of the evidence of the happiness and good fortune he has found in it. When he and Mrs. Papashvily, "who set down the story as he told it," are not being too charming and humorous, their book *is* quite charming and humorous. It should be a pleasant antidote to Jan Karski's "Story of a Secret State," a grim chronicle of the murder of Poland, which is the January co-selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club, although the shock of Karski's book has been somewhat reduced by the removal of a group of gruesome photographs which appeared in pre-publication copies.

The Literary Guild comes up this month (surprise) with a 633-page historical novel of Inquisition Spain and Cortez's Mexico, "Captain from Castile," by Samuel Shellabarger.[2] It has the usual quota of rash, handsome heroes, sly swarthy villains, bosomy barmaids, proud, aristocratic parents, cloaks, swords, and—since it is about Spaniards this time—a liberal sprinkling of "*cabróns*," "*carambas!*" and "*Si, señors.*" It is neither better nor worse than most of its swollen genre, but I wish I had spent the same amount of time rereading one of the great historical novels—"The Charterhouse of Parma," say, or "Studs Lonigan."

The non-book club, or independent, first big-seller of the year is John Steinbeck's "Cannery Row,"[3] in which the race between the author's admitted talents and his undoubted meretriciousness finishes another lap with the latter taking a long lead this time around. As even the Boston Booksellers' and Bookburners' Association knows by now, this is an episodic ramble along the Monterey waterfront and an examination, but not a very deep or meaningful one, of its "whores, pimps, gamblers and sons of bitches" and/or "saints and angels and martyrs and holy men." Mostly it is about Doc, "a hell of a nice fella" who runs a marine laboratory, and a bunch of bums (read saints and holy men) who try to throw a swell party for him and keep tripping up on their failings. It is a readable book, and there are moments when Steinbeck removes his beer-colored glasses to write savagely and truly and with love, as he has done intermittently before in "In Dubious Battle," "The Grapes of Wrath" and in some of the stories. But technical arch-

[1] Anything Can Happen, by George and Helen Papashvily. New York: Harper and Brothers. 202 pages. $2.

[2] Captain from Castile, By Samuel Shellabarger. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 633 pages. $3.

[3] Cannery Row, by John Steinbeck. New York: The Viking Press. 208 pages. $2.

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ness, superficial characterization and boozy metaphysics are seldom absent.

I'm afraid "Cannery Row" won't have even the considerable incidental value that three of his earlier books had —of providing the fable for the fine movies: "The Grapes of Wrath" (John Ford), "Of Mice and Men" (Lewis Milestone) and "The Forgotten Village" (Herbert Kline).

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Under Fire

Aurélien, by Louis Aragon. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 120 francs.

THE COPY of Aragon's latest, "Aurélien," I am sending you looks pretty god-awful, and the reason is that I read it under unusual circumstances, under direct enemy fire. We made this trip to the front very recently, to a place liberated by an armored force just the day before. I took the book along because it has been my experience that most of what you do in the combat area is to wait, and you get bored waiting at a place once visited by heavy bombers, with additional recent demolition by retreating Germans, with additional later wreckage by the shelling of German guns. No houses standing, no roads or streets, the natives walking around stunned, the children just learning to ask for chewing gum and chocolate, and the white tape which shows areas that have been de-mined stretching very uncertainly and even torn in places. Raining besides, the jeep filthy with mud, the trailer which contained our equipment and rations just foul with mud, so that we even hesitated before taking the tarpaulin off so we could get at our rations.

Usually I am busy with the others, but this time I goofed off and whenever I was not directly asked to help I sat in the jeep and did not hear the guns and tried not to feel the rain spreading down my neck, and I read "Aurélien." I suppose one measure of the value of the book is in the fact that I continued reading it through much excitement, including the strafing of the little air field we were on. The book is mostly about this nice fellow, Aurélien, a well-to-do Parisian of the early nineteen-twenties and about his love for this nice young married woman, Bérénice, who also loves him very much. The point is that they never sleep together. Sometimes they almost do, almost nothing can prevent it, and you begin to feel pretty good about it, because they really are fine people and deserve each other, and as the Messerschmitt would come low over the air field, and our anti-aircraft fire would begin tracking it, I would dog's-ear a page with anticipation. I would step under the nearest what-you-might-call-a-shelter, and would watch the slow show in the sky, the airplane moving down and to us, the boys in the batteries very intent upon it, the noise rising and falling like the pop of large champagne bottles, all sort of off-hand and absent-mindedly, nobody excited or even paying very close attention. Black puffs would appear around the airplane, and sometimes it would emit a kind of black smoke that made the boys think it was a jet plane. It wasn't a jet plane. It was a 109 with a good pilot in it. As soon as it rose away again, I would go back to Aurélien, saying to myself, "Now the big scene will begin." It began all right, but it never finished.

The whole point of the book seemed to be that sometimes a woman loves a man too much to be able to give herself to him. It's a very good point, but on that air field which was just a meadow and near that wrecked town it seemed a little fine and just a touch far-fetched and perhaps not important. There were things in the book that even there seemed to me important. There was a beautiful love for the city of Paris, that made me, who had left it only two days before, feel almost sick with loneliness for it. There was Aragon's greatest gift, his ability to evoke the streets and shop fronts, and the way the people walk and the way it all looks and sounds and smells and feels. I don't think he is really a novelist, even though both his dialogue and his characterizations are good. He doesn't seem to have an altogether about it, a central shine, a glow, a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. I think he is a very good writer and a very fine man, because he can write about people who are really good. There is an epilogue to the book that carries them all to the beginning of the present war, and the end is tragic, if a little pat. I suppose that is inevitable; in the wet miserable waiting which is this war, anything which ends is a little pat. I finished the book when I was back in Paris, that is still Paris, only terribly cold. I finished it on the night I came back, grateful for being in my very own bed. I shut the book, and I turned off the light, and I curled into a ball to get a little warmth and just before I dropped off to sleep it wasn't only the end of this book which seemed quite unreal.

NATHAN ASCH

Poetry Anyhow

New Directions: 1944. Number 8. Edited by James Laughlin. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 407 pages. $3.50.

IT HAS BECOME so much of a commonplace to say that New Directions is not new and that it runs off in all directions, that reviewers frequently miss the virtues which this "annual exhibition gallery of divergent literary trends" does in fact possess. James Laughlin has always managed to present some good poetry. A verse play by William Carlos Williams and the poems of Marcia Nardi both struck and maintained a high level of writing in Number 7, 1942, and this year Dr. Williams publishes a beautiful lyric, "To All Gentleness," and there are other excellent poems by Weldon Kees, June Cannan, A. M. Klein and Leslie Fiedler. These, together with an anthology of Afro-Cuban poetry, selected poems of Pablo Neruda and a special Lorca section, should compare very favorably with any collection of modern poetry published during the year.

The prose works, however, are another story. For the most part they are surrealist derivations, conventionally fabricated and as dull a thing—someone should really tell the surrealists—as sleep, with all its dreams. The general technique employed, one of over-suggestion and incongruous illustration, has obviously learned more from advertising than experience. The whole myth of depth-experience and irrationalism, which only the best surrealists—a handful—have been able to sustain, suffers an absurb reduction in two crude vignettes by Eve Merriam, a long and dreary story, based on a bad pun, by Kappo Phelan, and the other little ink clouds which the rest of the company squirt out to con-

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ceal their emptiness. The only piece of prose by an American which is at all an exception is Paul Goodman's "Detective Story"—a serious attempt to trace the shifts and vaporizations of ego and subject matter in the life of a writer.

The conclusion is obvious, and it has been drawn many times from other premises—better poetry than prose is being written in the United States today. The reasons offered to explain this discrepancy are often obscure, but I think that New Directions provides a valuable clue. It has to do with experimentation and with the very fact that poetic experiment has, on the whole, been successful, while that carried on in prose has not. Poets have investigated their medium and have more clearly perceived their relation to it than prose writers. There is an element of reflexivity, of the poet's consciousness of personal problems in so far as they concern his writing, in nearly all of modern poetry. But prose is backward. You have a story to tell and you sit down to write it, and you may as well be wood for all the place there is in modern fiction for the fact that you are human. You are either hard-boiled or hysterical; you are either a grim little behaviorist, as objective as a sack of nails, or a natural gusher with a wild mouth and snakes in your hair like Thomas Wolfe. Choose either pose—and say nothing. Or choose surrealism and go to sleep. This is the burden of experimentation today, to find—as the greatest modern writers and experimenters, Joyce, Kafka and Proust, have found it—your exact position in the world, the symbol that expresses it precisely and the knowledge and the comment you must bring to bear upon it. And in this sense art is—and New Directions is not—an act of experiment.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

War Is Hell

War and Its Causes, by L. L. Bernard. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 479 pages. $4.25.

PROFESSOR BERNARD, a sociologist at Washington University in St. Louis, has since 1909 published some fifteen scholarly works in his field. In this volume he applies the "sociological attitude of mind" to the theory and data of wars. His conclusions are not astounding, but his exposition of the material is thorough. He concerns himself with war in order to describe it, classify it and make it sociologically comprehensible—or, perhaps, comprehensible to sociologists, since so much of his effort is directed toward rather sterile definition. Also, the book is more largely devoted to summary of writings in the field than, for instance, to notions and beliefs of the author's own. But a work done in such a vein has value, of course, except when, through academic love of definition *qua* definition, it slips to this level: "Many early wars were carried on by tribes or even small hordes or robber gangs. The former have been called tribal wars, especially when occurring between two contending tribes."

The volume is divided into three sections and twenty-one chapters: ten chapters dealing with "War as a Social Institution"; ten with "The Causes of War"; and in the final chapter the question is asked, "What Can Be Done about War?" In the first section, Professor Bernard discusses the very interesting problem of the ethical sanction of wars. He points out that in ancient times the material advantages to be gained were reason enough for any war, while modern peoples demand ethical and even legal sanction before willingly engaging in combat. From this factor has grown the importance of war propaganda, the kind that goes beyond simple patriotism. "It [this propaganda of war-makers] indicates that public opinion does not sanction wanton attacks upon other peoples." "Public opinion" is an elusive term, if not merely a manufactured article. "It"—meaning public opinion, or the war-makers themselves—does not sanction such attacks, no, it simply engages in them. The "sanctions" are part of the attack.

The most foreboding consequence of the institution war, says the author, is its depletion of irreplaceable natural resources. This, he thinks, is a more powerful argument against war than the destruction of human beings. It is a nice symbol of our civilization that, rhetorically, he is probably correct.

Dealing with the causes of war, Professor Bernard first notes that war is "the result of *social disorganization.*" Then he distinguishes between incidental and fundamental causes. The former are always rationalizations, and used only for the crudest sort of popular appeal. (Examples are the assassination at Sarajevo, Pearl Harbor, etc.) The author also considers political, psychological and cultural factors, and so on, as secondary causes. Over-population, the only real biological cause of war, is fundamental for him, and this he stresses perhaps too much, for he later proposes population control as a means of eliminating imperialism. The predominant fundamental causes of war are economic, but "in recent years there has been somewhat of a reaction

"A brilliant job both as a historical study and as an analysis of the nub-problem of bureaucracy." —MAX LERNER

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against attributing wars to economic causes." The main reason for this "is the opposition which the arch materialists, the industrialists and financiers manifest toward it."

What practically amounts to economic nationalism (an escape psychology) is Professor Bernard's favored solution to the problem of war in our day. But he doesn't believe in it very much himself. Recounting the sad tale of events that led to the present war, he pauses at the action of the Allies during the Spanish civil war and exclaims, "That was one of the most astounding circumstances in the history of the world." The most likely resolution of war, he concludes, is to let nature take its course, or thereabouts. The last sentence in the book is a good one: "Or is there some other means not yet discovered by which we can achieve the desired end?"

DAVID T. BAZELON

Personalized History

China to Me, by Emily Hahn. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 424 pages. $3.

"CHINA TO ME" arouses the psychoanalyst in all of us. It is an intensely personal record. Although in the case of a professional writer of Miss Hahn's competence it is not always easy to know where confession leaves off and art begins, the flow of the story gives the effect of a case history, and the reader's primary reaction to the book is likely to be a reaction to Miss Hahn's personality. Unlike most case histories, however, the subject of this one moves against a background of violence, war and race antagonism, so that Miss Hahn's account of her own adventures and feelings becomes, in the end, a suggestive partial description of the disintegration of an era.

The first half of the book covers the period from 1935 to 1940. It describes Miss Hahn's arrival in the Far East, her life in Shanghai, her diapered gibbons, her marriage into a Chinese family, her magazine work, her first brief meeting with "Charles" (the British major by whom she later has a baby). It describes her commission to write the life of the Soong sisters and her "bemusement" by them, as she gathers material in Hong Kong and Chungking. This part of the book is, on the whole, rather dull but Miss Hahn should not, perhaps, be blamed for this. We live in a streamlined age, and books are expected to be paced as though fired from rockets. She covers too much ground too fast and the effect of such speed is to blur all the images like a movie reel run off at double time, so that there is nothing to set this part of the book off from dozens of others except the intrinsic interest of Miss Hahn's provocative personality. When she moves to Hong Kong in 1940, however, the pace slows down, details pile up, people emerge, and suddenly you find yourself living on an island, occupied by the Japanese, in the midst of the normal horrors of war —poverty, hunger and terror, intensified by the bitterness of race hostility.

Miss Hahn's account of the siege and occupation of Hong Kong is wholly personal. The focus of interest is herself, her baby, her interned lover and her efforts to take care of herself and her family under war conditions. The reader, however, is bound to be more interested in the background than in Miss Hahn's personal problems, so that the second half becomes another report from the war front. As a war correspondent Miss Hahn has certain great, if paradoxical, advantages. From the evidence of this book she is an extreme individualist, wholly apolitical in her interests, "bemused" by life, with a great zest for experience—for its own, or art's, sake. Since in her normal life she lives a kind of literary role, delighting in fantasy, incongruity and highly keyed emotional situations, she was able to adjust to the abnormal conditions of war with a minimum of shock; and she records her experience with a remarkable absence of emotionalism or protest.

This makes her a good reporter, and despite her self-centered approach, an objective one. She records what she herself experiences, sees and hears uninhibited by any considerations of political policy, social obligation, racial prejudice or fixed attitudes toward the enemy. She appears to have no interest in broad political movements or issues. She seems literally to know nothing of Far Eastern politics and history except what she has seen with her own eyes and heard with her own ears. In this long book there are scarcely two pages of direct political comment. Once or twice she lashes out at the "Leftists" in defense of the Soong family, and—by implication—their regime, but her comments here cannot be taken seriously, since they obviously represent personal emotions about individuals rather than judgments about policy.

Her lack of political point of view, however, is precisely what makes her account of Hong Kong so valuable, for she includes many kinds of people and reports many attitudes and facts that are usually omitted from the wartime diaries of more politically conscious reporters. She describes the plight of the Eurasians, a group usually omitted from such accounts. She high-lights the paradoxical Japanese-Chinese enemy-brother relationship that makes it possible for Miss Hahn to use her marriage to a Chinese to gain a semi-privileged status for herself and baby; and to write that from the Japanese point of view she "was a Chinese—not an enemy." She communicates, too, the extreme psychological as well as physical distance between the British privileged status on Hong Kong Peak and their internment in the huddled lowlands of Camp Stanley. There are innumerable sketches of Japanese officials who turn out to be more bewildered than savage, and who show themselves remarkably responsive to Miss Hahn's demonstrated affection for Asiatics.

This sort of book, especially in wartime, is bound to arouse antagonism. Miss Hahn has been charged with being pro-Japanese, and a political reactionary. From the evidence of this book, at least, such charges seem away off the track. She is not pro or anti any race or political program, because she doesn't think in terms of races or movements, but deals always with specific individuals in concrete situations. She assigns praise and blame with an impartiality colored only by her concern for the welfare of herself and those she befriends. Her accounts of Japanese are no different in tone from her accounts of British, Americans or Chinese. Her occasional generalizations have a bored or cross tone as if they had been thrown in as a sop to the conventions of the period without having real meaning for herself.

In other words, she is incurably interested in human beings as individuals. Her book, therefore, throws light on the place of the individualist's point of view in the modern, increasingly collectivist, world. In the case of Miss Hahn

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the individualist performs the service of recreating and communicating a psychological climate made up of the confusions, contradictions and tensions of human beings reacting against each other under conditions of extreme disorder. It presents the kind of raw material with which politicians must deal, and which all of us will have to understand if the present chaos is ever to become coöperation.

HELEN MEARS

Barrier to Freedom

The Cotton Mill Worker, by Herbert J. Lahne. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 303 pages. $3.

THIS VOLUME is important for the light it throws on the mill-village system of the Southern cotton-textile industry. The importance of the mill-owned village in retarding the growth of democracy in some of our Southern states has been lost sight of in recent years, possibly because of the emphasis given to the elimination of the poll tax. More than 60 percent of Southern cotton-mill workers live in company-owned houses (although not all houses are in mill villages); and the cotton-mill village has its counterpart in other industries in the South.

The necessity for the employer-owned mill village at the time of the establishment of the industry in New England and during the first decades of its growth in the South—which is not always appreciated—is clearly brought out by Mr. Lahne. It is rather difficult, however, to accept his conclusion that the conditions which, to a large extent, made the mill village a necessity in the early days of the industry, persist today. The development of the automobile and other means of transportation, the considerable degree of urbanization, and the growth of local capital resources are some of the factors which largely eliminate the necessity for mill owners to become landlords or owners of the villages. In view of these facts and the almost complete disappearance of the mill-village system in the North, Mr. Lahne would have been more realistic if he had characterized the mill-owned village as one of the anachronisms of twentieth-century America.

A more rational explanation for the persistence of the mill-village system is suggested by the chapter on religion, education and democracy, in which it is made clear that all of the institutions of such a village—housing, church, school, welfare activities—are directed towards the maintenance of a docile labor force, immune to unionism and to any other influence considered hostile to the interests of the mill owner. The reader is informed that the mill school, like the church, is "designed to control the working force through conditioning the child who became the mill worker"; that "education beyond the level of literacy has not been of much interest to the mill owners"; and that "essentially the mill owner looked at the children as future mill workers, and not as future citizens of a democracy."

Educational opportunities of these mill-village children are found to be inferior even to those of farm children in rural areas of the South. As a result of this domination of cultural, religious and other non-working activities, mill-village workers have been cut off from developing as free citizens in a democracy. No wonder that unionization is weakest in areas dominated by the mill village and that there is a great deal of political apathy in areas where the poll tax does not exist.

The scope of this newest volume in the series on "Labor in Twentieth Century America" is broader than the mill-village system; it is a historical analysis of all the major labor problems of the industry. Relatively little of the material is original, but the rather extensive literature on the industry is, to a considerable degree, out of date and a new synthesis is highly welcome. The story of the tragic failures and the limited successes during the many decades of efforts to organize the workers in the cotton-textile industry is of considerable interest. Even today, the great bulk of Southern cotton-mill workers remain unorganized; the history of earlier attempts makes one wonder whether the modest inroads made by the CIO into the strongly anti-union section of the industry in the South will be more permanent than those of the past.

HARRY WEISS

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A Reader's List

POLAND FIGHTS BACK, by Xavier Pruszynski (Roy, $2.50). There is the germ of a saga in any recital of Poland's resistance, "from Westerplatte to Monte Cassino" —of a nation "without a yard of free soil" fighting on from Scotland and Iran, at Dunkirk and Tobruk, in the Battles of France, Norway, Britain and Italy. But that germ is, in this book, submerged in a bath of blatant nationalism—as are the occasional moments of effective writing. Pruszynski is often ambiguous; at one point he attributes Poland's 1939 defeat to Soviet intervention; at another he describes Poland's position, two days *before* the Russians moved, as "fairly hopeless." And he consistently ignores the distinction between "freedom" and "national independence." If Poland (or any other nation) is to "deserve" postwar existence, she will have to learn that there is a distinction.

HERE COMES TOMORROW, by A. W. Zelomek (Ziff-Davis, $2). Mr. Zelomek, who conducts a research service for business men, attempts to chart the course of our economic health for the next ten years. His book is unimaginatively optimistic. Too much credence is given to the notion that a vast backlog of deferred demand will sustain a decade of high production. He is even quite sanguine about our ability to reconvert to a peacetime economy without attendant political and social strains. Yet he does admit that there will be large numbers of unemployed who may create serious problems. Mr. Zelomek's forecast of postwar political relations seems considerably more justifiable than his economic prognosis; the imperialistic overtones are accurately described. The author also ventures to predict postwar price levels, wage rates, taxation levels, international trade conditions and the number and kind of kitchen gadgets housewives will want. Although readers may question some of Mr. Zelomek's conclusions, his book can do much to stimulate thinking on the shape of economic things to come.

GOLD AND THE GOLD STANDARD, by E. W. Kemmerer (McGraw-Hill, $2.50). Professor Kemmerer continues here his singularly persistent campaign for an unalloyed gold standard. His book, tracing in non-technical language the origins and history of our financial system, is a good source of information on monetary mechanics. Special treatment is given to the development of the gold standard in Britain and the United States. The author's effort to generalize from British and American experience accounts for his failure to underscore the global limitations of this most enticing of metallic techniques. Kemmerer professes, of course, an orthodox faith in the efficacy of gold and consequently he is particularly harsh with early New Deal monetary experiments. He feels certain that strong support for gold would have prevented the banking catastrophe in 1933. For the future, the author urges a return to gold. Yet nations will hardly care to accept again the deflationary rigidities that such a standard imposes.

Contributors

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS, former director of the Office of Export-Import Price Control of the Office of Price Administration, is an associate professor of Economics at Harvard. He is the author, among other works, of "Monetary Problems of the British Empire," "Twenty Years of Federal Reserve Policy" and "Exchange Depreciation."

BERNARD B. SMITH is a New York attorney who has studied radio for many years and has written a number of magazine articles on the subject. He testified before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, at the committee's invitation, on a proposed new radio law.

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NATHAN ASCH, author of "The Office," "Pay Day" and other novels, is a staff sergeant in the Army Air Forces. Although attached to headquarters, first in London and now in Paris, he has gone on several combat missions over Germany.

DAVID T. BAZELON reviews for The New York Times, Politics and The Contemporary Jewish Record. He has also contributed to Partisan Review. At present he is working on a novel.

HELEN MEARS has lived in China and Japan and has traveled extensively in both countries. She is an analyst of Far Eastern affairs and is at work on a book dealing with the special problems of Japan in the postwar world.

HARRY WEISS is an economist with a University of Wisconsin background who is now director, Economics Branch, Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor.

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